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THE
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS;

OR,
PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS;

FROM THE
REFORMATION IN 1517,
TO
THE REVOLUTION IN 1688;
COMPRISING AN
ACCOUNT OF THEIR PRINCIPLES;
THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FARTHER REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH;
THEIR SUFFERINGS;
AND THE
LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR MOST CONSIDERABLE DIVINES.

BY DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

A NEW EDITION, IN FIVE VOLUMES;

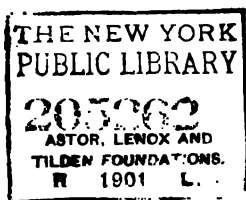
REPRINTED FROM THE
TEXT OF DR. TOULMIN'S EDITION,
WITH HIS
LIFE OF THE AUTHOR AND ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

VOL. IV.

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PATERNOSTER ROW.

1822.



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TO
BROWN-GOODE COLLECTION

A stamp consisting of three lines of text. The first line 'MOVED' and the third line 'BROWN-GOODE COLLECTION' are in a dotted, stencil-like font. The second line 'TO' is in a solid, bold font.

THE

P R E F A C E.

THIS volume brings the History of the Sufferings of the Puritans down to its period;* for though the Protestant dissenters have since complained of several difficulties and discouragements, yet most of the penal laws have been suspended; the prosecutions of the spiritual courts have been considerably restrained by the kind interposition of the civil powers, and liberty of conscience enjoyed without the hazard of fines, imprisonments, and other terrors of this world.

The times now in review were stormy and boisterous; upon the death of king Charles I. the constitution was dissolved: the men at the helm had no legal authority to change the government into a commonwealth, the protectorship of Cromwell was a usurpation, because grafted only on the military power, and so were all the misshapen forms into which the administration was cast till the restoration of the king. In order to pass a right judgment upon these extraordinary revolutions, the temper and circumstances of the nation are to be duly considered; for those actions which in some circumstances are highly criminal, may in a different situation of affairs become necessary. The parties engaged in the civil wars were yet living, and their resentments against each other so much inflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; each dreaded the other's success, well knowing they must fall a sacrifice to those who should prevail. All present views of the king's recovering his father's throne were defeated at the battle of Worcester, the loyalists being then entirely broken and dispersed; so that if some such extraordinary genius as Cromwell's had not undertaken to steer the nation through the storm, it had not been possible to hold

* The reader will observe that the period here referred to is the passing the act of toleration, with which Mr. Neal's fourth volume concludes. But the additions to the original work, by notes and supplements in this edition, have necessarily extended it to a fifth volume, which comprehends the author's two last chapters, the papers that form the Appendix to each of his volumes, and other papers. **Ed.**

the government together till Providence should open a way for restoring the constitution, and settling it on its legal basis.

The various forms of government (if they deserve that name) which the officers of the army introduced after the death of Cromwell, made the nation sick of their frenzies, and turned their eyes towards their banished sovereign; whose restoration after all could not be accomplished without great imprudence on one part, and the most artful dissimulation on the other. The Presbyterians, like weak politicians, surrendered at discretion, and parted with their power on no other security than the royal word, for which they have been sufficiently reproached; though I am of opinion, that if the king had been brought in by a treaty, the succeeding parliament would have set it aside. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious than the deep hypocrisy of general Monk, and the solemn assurances given by the bishops and other loyalists, and even by the king himself, of burying all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration; but when they were lifted into the saddle, the haste they made to shew how little they meant by their promises, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honour. Nothing would satisfy, till their adversaries were disarmed, and in a manner deprived of the protection of the government; the terms of conformity were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the civil wars, the penal laws were rigorously executed, and new ones framed almost every session of parliament for several successive years; the Nonconformist ministers were banished five miles from all the corporations in England, and their people sold for sums of money to carry on the king's unlawful pleasures, and to bribe the nation into Popery and slavery; till the house of commons, awakened at last with a sense of the threatening danger, grew intractable, and was therefore dissolved. His majesty, having in vain attempted several other representatives of the people, determined some time before his death to change the constitution, and govern by his sovereign will and pleasure; that the mischiefs which could not be brought upon the nation by consent of parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the prerogative; but the Roman Catholics, not satisfied with the slow proceedings of a disguised Protestant, or apprehending that the discontents of the people and his own love of ease might induce him some time or other to change measures, resolved to have a prince of their own religion, and more sanguine principles on the throne, which hastened the crisis of the nation, and brought forward that glorious revolution of king William and queen Mary, which put a final period to all their projects.

The nature of my design does not admit of a large and particular relation of all the civil transactions of these times, but only of such

THE PREFACE.

a summary as may give light to the affairs of religion; and I could have wished that the memory of both had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animosities of the several parties, and their unchristian principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembering them may be a warning to posterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of Christians in the present age, who are no ways answerable for the conduct of their ancestors, nor can otherwise share in a censure of it, than as they maintain the same principles, and imitate the same unchristian behaviour. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal Nonconformist ministers as they died, partly from the historians of those times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend doctor Calamy, whose integrity, moderation, and industry, deserve a peculiar commendation. My design was to preserve the memory of the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, as well as of the little army of confessors, who afterward suffered so deeply in the cause of nonconformity.

In passing a judgment on the several parties in church and state, I have carefully distinguished between those who went into all the arbitrary measures of the court, and such as stood firm by the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country; for it must be allowed, that in the reign of king Charles II. there were even among the clergy some of the worst as well as best of men, as will appear to a demonstration in the course of this history; but I desire no greater stress may be laid upon facts or characters than the quality of the vouchers in the margin will support. Where these have been differently related, I have relied on the best authorities, and sometimes reported from both sides, leaving the reader to choose for himself: for if facts are fairly represented, the historian is discharged. I am not so vain as to imagine this history free from errors; but if any mistakes of consequence are made to appear, they shall be acknowledged with thankfulness to those who shall point them out in a civil and friendly manner; and as I aim at nothing but truth, I see no reason to engage in a warm defence of any parties of Christians who pass before us in review, but leave their conduct to the censure of the world. Some few remarks of my own are here and there interspersed, which the reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premises; but I flatter myself, that when he has carefully perused the several volumes of this history, he will agree with me in the following conclusions:

1st. That uniformity of sentiments in religion is not to be attained among Christians; nor will a comprehension within an establishment be of service to the cause of truth and liberty without a

toleration of all other dutiful subjects. Wise and good men, after their most diligent searches after truth, have seen things in a different light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have liberty to judge for themselves. If Christ had appointed an infallible judge upon earth, or men were to be determined by an implicit faith in their superiors, there would be an end of such differences; but all the engines of human policy that have been set at work to obtain it have hitherto failed of success. Subscriptions, and a variety of oaths and other tests, have occasioned great mischiefs to the church: by these means men of weak morals and ambitious views have been raised to the highest preferments, while others of stricter virtue and superior talents have been neglected and laid aside; and power has been lodged in the hands of those who have used it in an unchristian manner, to force men to an agreement in sounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and sense of their minds; and thus a lasting reproach has been brought on the Christian name, and on the genuine principles of a Protestant church.

2dly. All parties of Christians, when in power, have been guilty of persecution for conscience' sake. The annals of the church are a most melancholy demonstration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the Popish bishops in queen Mary's reign; and the account that has been given of the star-chamber and high-commission court in later times; what numbers of useful ministers have been sequestered, imprisoned, and their families reduced to poverty and disgrace, for refusing to wear a white surplice, or to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies! What havoc did the Presbyterians make with their covenant uniformity; their *jure divino* discipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old service book. And though the Independents had a better notion of the rights of conscience, how defective was their instrument of government under Cromwell! how arbitrary the proceedings of their triers! how narrow their list of fundamentals! and how severe their restraints of the press! And though the rigorous proceedings of the Puritans of this age did by no means rival those of the prelates before and after the civil wars, yet they are so many species of persecution, and not to be justified even by the confusion of the times in which they were acted.

3dly. It is unsafe and dangerous to intrust any sort of clergy with the power of the sword: for our Saviour's kingdom is not of this world; "if it were (says he), then would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom not from hence." The church and state should stand on a distinct basis, and their jurisdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; those of the church purely spiritual, and

those of the state purely civil ; as the king is supreme in the state, he is also head, or guardian, of the church in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted it with. When the church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rivalled the state, but in a little time lifted up its head above emperors and kings, and all the potentates of the earth : the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and in her skirts was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly resume the same absolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the interest of all sovereign princes to keep their clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed them in the New Testament, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their subjects, which have no relation to the Christian methods of conversion.

4thly. Reformation of religion, or a redress of grievances in the church, has not in fact arisen from the clergy. I would not be thought to reflect upon that venerable order, which is of great usefulness, and deserved honour, when the ends of its institution are pursued ; but so strange has been the infatuation, so enchanting the lust of dominion, and the charms of riches and honour, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little else thought of but how they might rise higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their strong holds against all that should attack them. In the dawn of the Reformation the clergy maintained the pope's supremacy against the king, till they were cast in a premunire. In the reign of queen Elizabeth there was but one of the whole bench who would join in the consecration of a Protestant bishop ; and when the Reformation was established, how cruelly did those Protestant bishops, who themselves had suffered for religion, vex the Puritans, because they could not come up to their standard ! How unfriendly did they behave at the Hampton-court conference ! At the restoration of king Charles II. and at the late revolution of king William and queen Mary ! when the most solemn promises were broken, and the most hopeful opportunity of accommodating differences among Protestants lost, by the perverseness of the clergy towards those very men who had saved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for a union among Christians, or the propagation of truth, peace, and charity, from councils, synods, general assemblies, or convocations of the clergy of any sort whatsoever.

5thly. Upon these principles, it is evident that freedom of religion, in subordination to the civil power, is for the benefit of society, and no ways inconsistent with a public establishment. The

king may create dignitaries, and give sufficient encouragement to those of the public religion, without invading the liberties of his dissenting subjects. If religious establishments were stripped of their judicial processes and civil jurisdiction, no harm could be feared from them. And as his majesty is defender of the faith in Scotland as well as England, and equally the guardian of both churches, he will no doubt hold the balance, and prevent either from rising to such a pitch of greatness as to act independently on the state, or become formidable and oppressive to their neighbours: the former would create *imperium in imperio*; and there is but one step between the church's being independent on the state, and the state becoming dependant on the church. Besides, as freedom of religion is for the true honour and dignity of the crown, it is no less for the service of the community; for the example of the neighbouring nations may convince us, that uniformity in the church will always be attended with absolute and despotic power in the state. The meetings of dissenting Protestants were formerly called seditious, because the peace of the public was falsely supposed to consist in uniformity of worship; but long experience has taught us the contrary: for though the Nonconformists in those times gave no disturbance to the administration, the nation was far from being at peace; but when things came to a crisis, their joining with the church, against a corrupt court and ministry, saved the religion and liberties of the nation. It must therefore be the interest of a free people to support and encourage liberty of conscience, and not to suffer any one great and powerful religious body to oppress, devour, and swallow up the rest.

Finally, When Protestant dissenters recollect the sufferings of their fathers in the last age for the freedom of their consciences, let them be thankful that their lot is cast in more settled times. The liberties of England are the price of a great deal of blood and treasure; wide breaches were made in the constitution in the four reigns of the male line of the Stuarts; persecution and arbitrary power went hand in hand; the constitution was often in convulsive agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cause, and sacrificed their estates and lives in its defence. The Puritans stood firm by the Protestant religion, and by the liberties of their country in the reigns of king Charles II. and king James II., and received the fire of the enemy from all their batteries, without moving sedition, or taking advantage of their persecutors, when it was afterward in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are still wanting to settle the cause of liberty on a more equal basis, and to deliver wise and good men from the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, and religious tests of all sorts. But whether such

those of the state purely civil ; as the king is supreme in the state, he is also head, or guardian, of the church in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted it with. When the church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rivalled the state, but in a little time lifted up its head above emperors and kings, and all the potentates of the earth : the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and in her skirts was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly resume the same absolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the interest of all sovereign princes to keep their clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed them in the New Testament, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their subjects, which have no relation to the Christian methods of conversion.

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HISTORY

OF

THE PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES I. TO THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN SCOTLAND. 1648.

UPON the death of the late king, the legal constitution was dissolved, and all that followed till the restoration of king Charles II. was no better than a usurpation under different shapes; the house of commons, if it may deserve that name, after it had been purged of a third part of its members,* relying upon the act of continuation, called themselves the supreme authority of the nation, and began with an act to disinherit the prince of Wales, forbidding all persons to proclaim him king of England, on pain of high-treason. The house of lords was voted useless; and the office of a king unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous. The form of government for the future was declared to be a free commonwealth; the executive power lodged in the hands of a council of state of forty persons,† with full powers to take care of the whole administration for one year; new keepers of the great seal were appointed, from whom the judges received their commissions, with the name, style, and title, of, *custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate parliamenti*; i. e. keepers of the liberties of England by authority of par-

* According to Richard, not above a fifth part of the commons were left. On account of the reduced and mutilated state of the house, they were called the Rump Parliament. This name was first given to them by Walker, the author of the History of Independency, by way of derision, in allusion to a fowl, all devoured but the rump; and they were compared to a man "who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." Dr. Grey, and Rapin.—Ed.

† According to Whitelocke, who gives their names, the council consisted of thirty-eight persons only.—Ed.

liament. The coin was stamped on one side with the arms of England between a laurel and a palm, with this inscription, "The Commonwealth of England;" and on the other, a cross and harp, with this motto, "God with us."* The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished, and a new one appointed, called the Engagement, which was, to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers. Such as refused the oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the house of commons as would take it, resumed their places.

Such was the foundation of this new constitution, which had neither the consent of the people of England, nor of their representatives in a free parliament. "And if ever there was a usurped government mutilated, and founded only in violence (says Rapin†), it was that of this parliament." But though it was unsupported by any other power than that of the army, it was carried on with the most consummate wisdom, resolution, and success, till the same military power that set it up, was permitted by Divine Providence with equal violence to pull it down.

The new commonwealth in its infant state met with opposition from divers quarters: the levellers in the army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not shaken it off; and that the Rump's little finger (for so the house of commons was now called) would be heavier than the king's loins. The agitators therefore petitioned the house to dissolve themselves, that new representatives might be chosen. The commons, alarmed at these proceedings, ordered their general officers to cashier the petitioners, and break their swords over their heads, which was done accordingly. But when the forces passed under a general review at Ware, their friends in the army agreed to distinguish themselves by wearing something white in their hats;‡ which Cromwell having some intelligence of beforehand, commanded two regiments of horse who were not in the secret, to surround one of the regiments of foot; and having condemned four of the ringleaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be shot to death by

* * On which a man of wit observed, "that God and the commonwealth were not both on a side." Dr. Grey.—ED.

† Vol. 2. p. 573, folio.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 387. 389.

their other two associates, in sight of the whole army; and to break the combination, eleven regiments were ordered for Ireland; upon which great numbers deserted, and marched into Oxfordshire; but generals Fairfax and Cromwell, having overtaken them at Abingdon, held them in treaty till colonel Reynolds came up, and after some few skirmishes dispersed them.

The Scots threatened the commonwealth with a formidable invasion, for upon the death of king Charles I. they proclaimed the prince of Wales king of Scotland, and sent commissioners to the Hague, to invite him into that kingdom, provided he would renounce Popery and Prelacy, and take the solemn league and covenant. To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good understanding with the Dutch, the parliament sent Dr. Dorislaus,* an eminent civilian, concerned in the late king's trial, agent to the States-General; but the very first night after his arrival, May 3, 1649, he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve desperate cavaliers in disguise, who rushed in upon him while he was at supper, and with their drawn swords killed him on the spot.† Both the parliament and states of Holland resented this base action‡ so highly, that the young king thought proper to remove into France; from whence he went to the Isle of Jersey, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at Breda; where the Scots commissioners concluded a treaty with him, upon the foot

* This person was a native of Holland, and doctor of the civil law at Leyden. On his coming to England he was patronised by Falk lord Brook, who appointed him to read lectures on history in Cambridge. But, as in the opening of his course he decried monarchy, he was silenced; he then resided some time near to Maldon in Essex, where he had married an English woman. He was afterward, a judge advocate first, in the king's army, and then in the army of the parliament, and at length one of the judges of the court of admiralty. The parliament ordered 250*l.* for his funeral; settled on his son 200*l.* per annum for his life, and gave 500*l.* a piece to his daughters. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 228; and Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 390.—*Ed.*

† Whitelocke, p. 386.

‡ Dr. Grey cannot easily believe that the murder of Dr. Dorislaus was resented by the states of Holland; because they had bravely remonstrated by their two ambassadors against the king's death: he cannot, therefore, be easily induced to think, that, after this, they could resent the death of one of his execrable murderers. But Dr. Grey does not consider what was due in this case to the honour of their own police, and to the reputation and weight of their own laws. Mr. Neal is justified in his representations by Whitelocke, who says, "that letters from the Hague reported, that the States caused earnest inquisition to be made after the murderers of Dr. Dorislaus; promised one thousand guilders to him who should bring any of them; and published it death to any who should harbour any one of them." *Memorials*, p. 390.—*Ed.*

of which he ventured his royal person into that kingdom the ensuing year.

But to strike terror into the cavaliers, the parliament erected another high court of justice, and sentenced to death three illustrious noblemen, for the part they had acted in the last civil war; duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and lord Capel, who were all executed March 9, in the Palace-yard at Westminster: duke Hamilton declared himself a Presbyterian; and the earl of Holland was attended by two ministers of the same persuasion; but lord Capel was a thorough loyalist, and went off the stage with the courage and bravery of a Roman.

But the chief scene of great exploits this year was in Ireland, which Cromwell, a bold and enterprising commander, had been appointed to reduce; for this purpose he was made lord-lieutenant for three years, and having taken leave of the parliament, sailed from Milford-haven about the middle of August, with an army of fourteen thousand men of resolute principles, who before the embarkation observed a day of fasting and prayer; in which, Mr. Whitelocke remarks, after three ministers had prayed, lieutenant-general Cromwell himself, and the colonels Gough and Harrison, expounded some parts of Scripture excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion. The army was under a severe discipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the soldiers spending their leisure hours in reading their Bibles, in singing psalms, and religious conferences.

Almost all Ireland was in the hands of the royalists and Roman Catholics, except Dublin and Londonderry; the former of these places had been lately besieged by the duke of Ormond with twenty thousand men,* but the garrison

* Dr. Grey controverts Mr. Neal's account of the number of the duke of Ormond's army, on the authority of lord Clarendon and Mr. Carte: the former says, that Jones sallied out with a body of six thousand foot and one thousand nine hundred horse, and that the army encamped at Rathmines was not so strong in horse and foot: the latter, that Jones's forces amounted to only four thousand foot and one thousand two hundred horse, which was a body nearly equal to the whole Irish army, if it had been all engaged. These authorities are set against Mr. Neal. On the other hand, Whitelocke informs us that, previously to this defeat, letters from Ireland represented the duke of Ormond as approaching Dublin with twelve thousand foot and two thousand four hundred horse; and letters from Chester reported him forty thousand strong before Dublin. Ludlow says, that his forces were double in number to those of Jones. Borlase says, that Jones with very few forces, comparatively, fell on the besiegers, killed four thousand, and took two thousand five hundred and seventeen prisoners. The plunder of the field, we are told, was so rich, that the camp was like a fair, presenting for sale cloth, silk, and all manner of clothes. The parliament settled 1000*l*.

being recruited with three regiments from England, the governor, colonel James, surprised the besiegers, and after a vigorous sally stormed their camp, and routed the whole army, which dispersed itself into Drogheda, and other fortified places. Cromwell upon his arrival was received with the acclamations of a vast concourse of people, to whom he addressed himself from a rising ground, with hat in hand, in a soldierlike manner, telling them "he was come to cut down and destroy the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, with all their adherents;* but that all who were for the Protestant religion, and the liberties of their country, should find suitable encouragement from the parliament of England and himself, in proportion to their merits." Having refreshed his forces he marched directly to Drogheda, which was garrisoned with two thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the general neglecting the common forms of approach, battered the walls with his cannon, and having made two accessible breaches, like an impetuous conqueror, entered the town in person at the head of colonel Ewer's regiment of foot, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewise by storm, and after the example of Drogheda, put the garrison to the sword; the general declaring, that he would sacrifice all the Irish Papists to the ghosts of the English Protestants whom they had massacred in cold blood.† The conquest of these places struck such a terror

per annum in land on Jones, for his services. Whitelocke's *Memoirs*, p. 393. 401. 404. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 101, 4to. ed. And Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 228.—Ed.

* Dr. Grey spends here more than ten pages in detailing, from lord Clarendon, various acts of oppression, cruelty, and murder, perpetrated by individuals of Cromwell's army; to shew that they were not less barbarous and blood-thirsty than the inhuman wretches concerned in the Irish massacre. Such deeds, undoubtedly, shock humanity; and ought to shock every party. But the guilt lieth originally at the door of those who were the first aggressors; whose conduct furnished the precedent and provoked retaliation.—Ed.

† Great reproach, on this account, has fallen on the name of Cromwell. He reconciled himself to the execution of such severe orders, for putting to the sword and giving no quarter, by considering them as necessary to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, and as the instrument of the righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood. If ever such measures are justifiable, "it is in such a case as this (observes Dr. Harris), where the known disposition and behaviour of the sufferers are remarkably barbarous, inhuman, and cruel." Such horror, we are told, had the barbarities committed by the Irish, in the beginning of the Rebellion and during the course of the war impressed on every English breast, that even the humane and gentle Fairfax expressed in warm and severe terms his disapprobation at granting them quarter. Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 229; and Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. 5. p. 15, note, 8vo. ed.—Ed.

into the rest, that they surrendered upon the first summons; the name of Cromwell carrying victory on its wings before himself appeared, the whole country was reduced by the middle of May, except Limerick, Galway, and one or two other places, which Ireton took the following summer. Lord Inchequin deserted the remains of the royal army, and Ormond fled into France. Lieutenant-general Cromwell being called home to march against the Scots, arrived at London about the middle of May, and was received by the parliament and city with distinguished respect and honour, as a soldier who had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or history could parallel.

It is a remarkable account the lieutenant-general gives in one of his letters, of the behaviour of the army after their arrival in Ireland; "Their diligence, courage, and behaviour, are such (says he) through the providence of God, and strict care of the chief officers, that never men did obey orders more cheerfully, nor go upon duty more courageously. Never did greater harmony and resolution appear to prosecute this cause of God, than in this army. Such a consent of heart and hands; such a sympathy of affections, not only in carnal but in spiritual bonds, which tie faster than chains of adamant! I have often observed a wonderful consent of the officers and soldiers upon the grounds of doing service to God, and how miraculously they have succeeded. The mind of man being satisfied, and fixed on God, and that his undertaking is for God's glory, it gives the greatest courage to those men, and prosperity to their actions."*

To put the affairs of Ireland together: the Roman Catholics charged the ill success of their affairs upon the duke of Ormond, and sent him word, "that they were determined not to submit any longer to his commands, it not being fit that a Catholic army should be under the direction of a Protestant general; but that if he would depart the kingdom, they would undertake of themselves to drive Ireton out of Dublin." After this they offered the kingdom to the duke of Lorraine, a bigoted Papist, who was wise enough, to decline the offer,† and then quarrelling among themselves

* Whitelocke, p. 434.

† Dr. Grey insinuates here a reflection on Mr. Neal's veracity; by remarking that he produces no authority for the assertion. But that Ireland was offered to the

they were soon driven out of all the strong holds of the kingdom, and forced to submit to the mercy of the conqueror. All who had borne arms in the late insurrection, were shipped away into France, Spain, or Flanders, never to return on pain of death. Those who had a hand in murdering the Protestants at the time of the massacre, were brought from several parts of the country, and after conviction upon a fair trial were executed. The rest of the natives, who were called Tories, were shut up in the most inland counties and their lands given partly in payment to the soldiers who settled there, and the rest to the first adventurers.* Lord Clarendon relates it thus: "Near one hundred thousand of them were transported into foreign parts, for the service of the kings of France and Spain; double that number were consumed by the plague, famine, and other severities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder were by Cromwell transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught, and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, that were found out of the bounds appointed them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man, as the protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their titles to their lands in any other provinces; if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived, and left to starve within the limits prescribed them; out of which they durst not withdraw; so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts, which were demanded. It was a considerable time before these Irish could raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives; but necessity was the spring of industry." Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation till the restoration of king Charles II. a just judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard-of cruelties to the Irish Protestants!

To return to England: The body of the Presbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for restoring the king's family upon the foot of the covenant; several of their ministers carried on a private correspondence with the chiefs of that nation, and instead of taking the engagement to

guardianship of the duke of Lorrain has been since mentioned, as an incontrovertible fact, by Dr. Harris and Mrs. Macaulay.—Ed.

* Carrington's Life of Cromwell, p. 155. Clarendon, p. 153.

the present powers, called them usurpers, and declined praying for them in their churches; they also declared against a general toleration, for which the army and parliament contended.

When lieutenant-general Cromwell was embarking for Ireland, he sent letters to the parliament, recommending the removal of all the penal laws relating to religion; upon which the house ordered a committee to make report concerning a method for the ease of tender consciences, and an act to be brought in to appoint commissioners in every county, for the approbation of able and well-qualified persons to be made ministers, who cannot comply with the present ordinance for ordination of ministers.*

August 16, general Fairfax and his council of officers presented a petition to the same purpose, praying "that all penal statutes formerly made, and ordinances lately made, whereby many conscientious people were molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered, might be removed. Not that they desired this liberty should extend to the setting up Popery, or the late hierarchy; or to the countenancing any sort of immorality or profaneness; for they earnestly desired, that drunkenness, swearing, uncleanness, and all acts of profaneness, might be vigorously prosecuted in all persons whatsoever."† The house promised to take the petition into speedy consideration, and after some time passed it into a law.

But to bring the Presbyterian clergy to the test, the engagement which had been appointed to be taken by all civil and military officers within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting their places, was now required to be sworn and subscribed by all ministers, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houses, graduates, and all officers in the universities; and by the masters, fellows, schoolmasters, and scholars, of Eton-college, Westminster, and Winchester schools; no minister was to be admitted to any ecclesiastical living, no clergyman to sit as member of the assembly of divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unless he qualified himself by taking the engagement within six months, publicly in the face of the congregation.‡

November 9, it was referred to a committee, to consider how the engagement might be subscribed by all the people

* Whitelocke, p. 405.

† Ibid. p. 404.

‡ Walker, p. 146.

of the nation, of eighteen years of age and upwards. Pursuant to which a bill was brought in, and passed, January 2, to debar all who should refuse to take and subscribe it, from the benefit of the law; and to disable them from suing in any court of law or equity.

This was a severe test on the Presbyterians, occasioned by the apprehended rupture with the Scots; but their clergy inveighed bitterly against it in their sermons, and refused to observe the days of humiliation appointed by authority for a blessing upon their arms. Mr. Baxter says,* that he wrote several letters to the soldiers, to convince them of the unlawfulness of the present expedition: and in his sermons declared it a sin to force ministers to pray for the success of those who had violated the covenant, and were going to destroy their brethren. That he both spoke and preached against the engagement, and dissuaded men from taking it. At Exeter, says Mr. Whitelocke, the ministers went out of town on the fast-day, and shut up the church-doors; and all the magistrates refused the engagement. At Taunton the fast was not kept by the Presbyterian ministers; and at Chester they condemned the engagement to the pit of hell; as did many of the London ministers, who kept days of private fasting and prayer, against the present government. Some of them (says Whitelocke) joined the royalists, and refused to read the ordinances of parliament in their pulpits, as was usual in those times; nay, when the Scots were beaten, they refused to observe the day of thanksgiving,† but shut up their churches and went out of town; for which they were summoned before the committee and reprimanded; but the times being unsettled no farther notice was taken of them at present.

Most of the sectarian party, says Mr. Baxter,‡ swallowed the engagement; and so did the king's old cavaliers, very few of them being sick of the disease of a scrupulous conscience: some wrote for it, but the moderate episcopal men and Presbyterians generally refused it. Those of Lan-

* Life, p. 64, 66.

† Lord Grey, at the desire of some who were zealously attached to the parliament, complained, in a letter to the lord-president of the council of state, of the neglect of the ministers, in Leicestershire and another county, in this instance: and urged the importance of noticing their contempt of the thanksgiving-day, expressed by their nonobservance of it. Dr. Grey's Appendix, no. 8.—Ed.

‡ Life, p. 64, 65.

cashire and Cheshire published the following reasons against it :

(1.) " Because they apprehended the oath of allegiance, and the solemn league and covenant, were still binding.

(2.) " Because the present powers were no better than usurpers.

(3.) " Because the taking of it was a prejudice to the right heir of the crown, and of the ancient legal constitution."

To which it was answered, " that it was absurd to suppose the oath of allegiance, or the solemn league and covenant, to be in force after the king's death; for how could they be obliged to preserve the king's person, when the king's person was destroyed, and the kingly office abolished; and as to his successor, his right had been forfeited and taken away by parliament." With regard to the present powers, it was said, " that it was not for private persons to dispute the rights and titles of their supreme governors. Here was a government *de facto*, under which they lived; as long therefore as they enjoyed the protection of the government, it was their duty to give all reasonable security that they would not disturb it, or else to remove." The body of the common people being weary of war, and willing to live quiet under any administration, submitted to the engagement, as being little more than a promise not to attempt the subversion of the present government, but many of the Presbyterian clergy chose rather to quit their preferments in the church and university, than comply; which made way for the promotion of several Independent divines, and among others, of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, who by order of parliament, January 8, 1749—50, was appointed president of Magdalen-college, Oxford, with the privilege of nominating fellows and demies in such places as should become vacant by death, or by the possessors refusing to take the engagement.*

The parliament tried several methods to reconcile the Presbyterians to the present administration; persons were appointed to treat with them, and assure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical preferments according to law; when this could not prevail, an order was published, that ministers in

* Whitelocke, p. 453.

their pulpits should not meddle with state-affairs. After this the celebrated Milton was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the seditious preachers with his satirical pen in a severe manner; at length, when all other methods failed, a committee was chosen to receive informations against such ministers as in their pulpits vilified and aspersed the authority of parliament, and an act was passed, that all such should be sequestered from their ecclesiastical preferments.*

The Presbyterians supported themselves under these hardships by their alliance with the Scots, and their hope of a speedy alteration of affairs by their assistance; for in the remonstrance of the general assembly of that kirk, dated July 27, they declare, that "the spirit which has acted in the councils of those who have obstructed the work of God, despised the covenant, corrupted the truth, forced the parliament, murdered the king, changed the government, and established such an unlimited toleration in religion, cannot be the spirit of righteousness and holiness. They therefore warn the subjects of Scotland against joining with them, and in case of an invasion to stand up in their own defence. The English have no controversy with us (say they), but because the kirk and state have declared against their unlawful engagement; because we still adhere to our covenant, and have borne our testimony against their toleration, and taking away the king's life."† But then they warn their people also against malignants, "who value themselves upon their attachment to the young king, and if any from that quarter should invade the kingdom, before his majesty has given satisfaction to the parliament and kirk, they exhort their people to resist them, as abettors of an absolute and arbitrary government."

About two months after this, the parliament of England published a declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the revolt of the English and Scots Presbyterians, and of their taking part with the enemy, because their discipline was not the exact standard of reformation. "But we are still determined (say they‡) not to be discouraged in our endeavours to promote the purity of religion, and the liberty of the commonwealth; and for the satisfaction of our Presbyterian brethren, we declare, that we will continue all those

* Whitelocke, p. 387.

† Vol. Pamph. no. 34. p. 6.

‡ Ibid. no. 34.

ordinances, which have been made for the promoting a reformation of religion, in doctrine, worship, and discipline, in their full force; and will uphold the same, in order to suppress Popery, superstition, blasphemy, and all kinds of profaneness. Only we conceive ourselves obliged to take away all such acts and ordinances as are penal and coercive in matters of conscience. And because this has given so great offence, we declare, as in the presence of God, that by whomsoever this liberty shall be abused, we will be ready to testify our displeasure against them, by an effectual prosecution of such offenders."

The Scots commissioners were all this while treating with the king in Holland, and insisting on his subscribing the solemn league and covenant; his establishing the Westminster confession, the Directory, and the Presbyterian government, in both kingdoms. The king being under discouraging circumstances, consented to all their demands with regard to Scotland, and as to England, referred himself to a free parliament: but the Scots, not satisfied with his majesty's exceptions as to England, replied, that "such an answer as this would grieve the whole kirk of Scotland, and all their covenanting brethren in England and Ireland, who under pain of the most solemn perjury stand bound to God and one another, to live and die by their covenant, as the chief security of their religion and liberties, against Popish and prelatical malignants. Your majesty's father (say they), in his last message to our kirk, offered to ratify the solemn league and covenant. He offered likewise at the Isle of Wight to confirm the Directory, and the Presbyterial government in England and Ireland, till he and his parliament should agree upon a settled order of the church. Besides, your majesty having offered to confirm the abolishing of episcopacy, and the service-book in Scotland, it cannot certainly be against your conscience to do it in England." But the king would advance no farther till he had heard from the queen-mother, who sent him word, that it was the opinion of the council of France, that he should agree with the Scots upon the best terms he was able, which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

The fifth provincial assembly of London met the beginning of May [1649] at Sion-college, the reverend Mr. Jackson, of St. Michael Wood-street, moderator. A committee

was appointed to prepare materials for proof of the divine right of presbyterial church-government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the assembly that met in November following, of which Mr. Walker was moderator, Mr. Calamy and Mr. Jackson assessors, and Mr. Blackwell scribe. The treatise was printed, and asserts,

(1.) That there is a church-government of divine institution.

(2.) That the civil magistrate is not the origin or head of church-government. And,

(3.) That the government of the church by synods and classes is the government that Christ appointed. It maintains separation from their churches to be schism; that ministers formerly ordained by bishops need not be reordained; and for private Christians in particular churches to assume a right of sending persons forth to preach, and to administer the sacraments, is in their opinion insufferable.

The parliament did all they could to satisfy the malecontent Presbyterians, by securing them in their livings, and by ordering the dean and chapter lands to be sold,* and their names to be extinct, except the deanery of Christchurch, and the foundations of Westminster, Winchester, and Eton schools. The bishops' lands, which had been sequestered since the year 1646, were now, by an ordinance of June 8, 1649, vested in the hands of new trustees, and appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings in the church.† The first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical livings, formerly payable to the crown, were vested in the same hands, free from all incumbrances, on trust, that they should pay yearly all such salaries, stipends, allowances, and provisions, as have been settled and confirmed by parliament, for preaching ministers, schoolmasters, or professors in the universities; provided the assignment to any one do not exceed 100*l*. It is farther provided, that the maintenance of all incumbents, shall not be less than 100*l*. a year, and the commissioners of the great seal are empowered to inquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings, to which any cure

* The money raised by the sale of those lands amounted to a very considerable sum. The return of the value of the lands, contracted for to the 29th of August 1650, made to the committee for the sale of them, fixed it at the sum of 948,409*l*. 18*s*. 2½*d*. of which, on the 31st of August, the total of the purchasers' acquittances amounted to 658,501*l*. 2*s*. 9*d*. Dr. Grey, vol. 3. Appendix, p. 18.—Ed.

† Soebel, p. 41. 113.

of souls is annexed ; and to certify into the court of chancery, the names of the present incumbents who supply the cure, with their respective salaries ; how many chapels belong to parish-churches, and how the several churches and chapels are supplied with preaching ministers ; that some course may be taken for providing for a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. Walker says,* the value of bishops' lands forfeited and sold amounted to a million of money : but though they sold very cheap, they that bought them had a very dear bargain in the end.

Upon debate of an ordinance concerning public worship, and church-government, the house declared, that the Presbyterian government should be the established government. And upon the question, whether tithes should be continued, it was resolved, that they should not be taken away, till another maintenance equally large and honourable should be substituted in its room.

The inhabitants of the principality of Wales were destitute of the means of Christian knowledge, the language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle ; so that they had hardly a sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither Bibles nor catechisms ; nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament taking the case of these people into consideration, passed an act, February 22, 1649, for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances ; to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter ; but the parliament were so intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. Whitelocke says, they devoted Friday in every week to consult ways and means for promoting it.

Nor did they confine themselves to England, but as soon as lieutenant-general Cromwell had reduced Ireland, the parliament passed an ordinance, March 8, 1649, for the encouragement of religion and learning in that country ; "they invested all the manors and lands late of the archbishop of Dublin, and of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick, together with the parsonage of Trym belonging to the bishoprick of Meath, in the hands of trustees, for the maintenance

* P. 14.

and support of Trinity-college in Dublin; and for the creating, settling, and maintaining, another college in the said city, and of a master, fellows, scholars, and public professors: and also for erecting a free-school, with a master, usher, scholars, and officers, in such manner as any five of the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, shall direct and appoint. The lord-lieutenant to nominate the governor, masters, &c. and to appoint them their salaries; and the trustees, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, shall draw up statutes and ordinances, to be confirmed by the parliament of England."

The university of Dublin being thus revived, and put upon a new foot, the parliament sent over six of their most acceptable preachers to give it reputation, appointed them 200*l.* a year out of the bishops' lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenues: and for their farther encouragement, if they died in that service, their families were to be provided for. By these methods learning began to revive, and in a few years religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done before in that kingdom.

A prospect being opened for spreading the Christian religion among the Indians, upon the borders of New-England, the parliament allowed a general collection throughout England, and erected a corporation for this service, who purchased an estate in land of between 5 and 600*l.* a year; but on the restoration of king Charles II. the charter became void, and colonel Bedingfield, a Roman-Catholic officer in the king's army, of whom a considerable part of the land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he had sold it under the real value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. In order to defeat the colonel's design, the society solicited the king for a new charter, which they obtained by the interest of the lord-chancellor. It bears date February 7, in the fourteenth year of his majesty's reign, and differs but little from the old one. The honourable Robert Boyle, esq. was the first governor. They afterward recovered colonel Bedingfield's estate, and are at this time in possession of about 500*l.* a year, which they employ for the conversion of the Indians in America.

But all that the parliament could do was not sufficient to stop the mouths of the loyalists and discontented Presby-

terians; the pulpit and press sounded to sedition; the latter brought forth invectives every week against the government; it was therefore resolved to lay a severe fine upon offenders of this kind, by an ordinance bearing date September 20, 1649, the preamble to which sets forth, that "Whereas divers scandalous and seditious pamphlets are daily printed, and dispersed with officious industry, by the malignant party both at home and abroad, with a design to subvert the present government, and to take off the affections of the people from it, it is therefore ordained,

"That the author of every seditious libel or pamphlet shall be fined ten pounds, or suffer forty days' imprisonment. The printer five pounds, and his printing-press to be broken. The bookseller forty shillings; the buyer twenty shillings, if he conceals it, and does not deliver it up to a justice of peace. It is farther ordained, that no newspaper shall be printed or sold without licence, under the hand of the clerk of the parliament, or the secretary of the army, or such other person as the council of state shall appoint. No printing-presses are to be allowed but in London, and in the two universities. All printers are to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds, not to print any pamphlet against the state without licence, as aforesaid, unless the author's or licenser's name, with the place of his abode, be prefixed. All importers of seditious pamphlets are to forfeit five pounds for every such book or pamphlet. No books are to be landed in any other port but that of London, and to be viewed by the master and wardens of the company of stationers. This act to continue in force for two years."*

But the pulpit was no less dangerous than the press; the Presbyterian ministers in their public prayers and sermons, especially on fast-days, keeping alive the discontents of the people. The government therefore, by an ordinance, abolished the monthly fast, which had subsisted for about seven years, and had been in a great measure a fast for strife and debate; but declared at the same time, that they should appoint occasional fasts, from time to time for the future, as the providences of God should require.†

In the midst of all these disorders, there was a very great appearance of sobriety both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the Presbyterian ministers in catechizing,

* Seabel, p. 88. cap. 60.

† Whitelocke, p. 383.

instructing, and visiting their parishioners, can never be sufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized, and considerably improved in sound knowledge, though bishop Kennet and Mr. Echard are pleased to say, that heresies and blasphemies against heaven were swelled up to a most prodigious height. "I know (says Mr. Baxter*) you may meet with men who will confidently affirm, that in these times all religion was trodden under foot, and that heresy and schism were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages, that they take heed how they believe any, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions against their real or supposed adversaries." However, the parliament did what they could to suppress and discountenance all such extravagances; and even the officers of the army, having convicted one of their quartermasters of blasphemy in a council of war, sentenced him to have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, his sword broke over his head, and to be cashiered the army.

But bishop Kennet says, even the Turkish Alcoran was coming in; that it was translated into English, and said to be licensed by one of the ministers of London. Sad times! Was his lordship then afraid that the Alcoran should prevail against the Bible? or that the doctrines of Christ could not support themselves against the extravagant follies of an impostor? But the book did no harm, though the commons immediately published an order for suppressing it; and since the restitution of monarchy and episcopacy, we have lived to see the life of Mahomet and his Koran published without mischief or offence.

His lordship adds, that the Papists took advantage of the liberty of the times, who were never more numerous and busy; which is not very probable, because the parliament had banished all Papists twenty miles from the city of London, and excepted them out of their acts of indulgence and toleration; the spirit of the people against Popery was kept up to the height; the mob carried the pope's effigy in triumph, and burnt it publicly on queen Elizabeth's birthday; and the ministers in their pulpits pronounced him antichrist; but such is the zeal of this right reverend historian!†

* Life, p. 86.

† In this place we may notice, that colonel Lilburne, who in the reign of Charles I. felt the severe effects of regal and episcopal anger, now incurred the displeasure

The beginning of this year, the marquis of Montrose was taken in the north of Scotland by colonel Straughan* with a small body of troops, and hanged at Edinburgh on a gallows thirty feet high; his body was buried under the gallows, and his quarters set upon the gates of the principal towns in Scotland; but his behaviour was great and firm to the last. The marquis appeared openly for the king in the year 1643, and having routed a small party of covenanters in Perthshire, acquired considerable renown; but his little successes were very mischievous to the king's affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were: † his vanity was the occasion of breaking off the treaty of Ux-

of a republican government. On October 26, 1646, he was tried for transgressing the new statute of treasons enacted by the commonwealth. He was acquitted by the jury; and Westminster-hall, on the verdict being given, resounded with the acclamations of the people. A print was struck on the occasion, representing him standing at the bar on his trial: at the top of it was a medal of his head, with this inscription, "John Lilburne, saved by the power of the Lord, and the integrity of his jury, who are judges of law as well as fact, October 6, 1646." On the reverse were the names of the jury. He was a very popular character; as appears from the many petitions presented to the house in his favour during his imprisonment; one of which came from a number of women. When some were sent to seize his books, he persuaded them, "to look to their own liberties, and let his books alone;" and on his trial, he behaved with singular intrepidity. After he was discharged by the jury, he was, by the order of parliament, committed to the Tower. He seems to have been a bold and consistent oppugner of tyranny, under whatever form of government it was practised. He died a Quaker, at Eltham, August 28, 1658. The following character was given of him by sir Thomas Wortley, in a song, at the feast kept by the prisoners in the Tower, in August 1647.

John Lilburne is a stirring blade,
And understands the matter;
He neither will king, bishops, lords,
Nor th' house of commons, flatter.

John loves no power prerogative,
But that deriv'd from Sion;
As for the mitre and the crown,
Those two he looks awry on.

Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 78, 8vo. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 383, 384, and 405. Dr. Grey, vol. 1. p. 167, and vol. 3. p. 17.—Ed.

* This is not accurate. Colonel Straughan's forces in conjunction with others fell on lord Montrose's party, routed them, and took six hundred prisoners: but the marquis himself escaped, though with difficulty, for his horse, pistols, belt, and scabbard, were seized: and two or three days after the fight, he was taken sixteen miles from the place of engagement, in a disguise, and sorely wounded: having been betrayed, some say by lord Aston, but, according to bishop Burnet, by Mackland, of Assin. Dr. Grey; and Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 438, 439.—Ed.

† If his successes were magnified beyond the truth, his character has also been handed down with the highest eulogiums. The marquis of Montrose (says Mr. Granger) was comparable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. We meet with many instances of valour in this active reign; but Montrose is the only instance of heroism. Amongst other circumstances of indignity, which accompanied his execution, the book of his exploits, a small octavo written in elegant Latin, which is now very scarce, was tied appendant to his neck. Dr. Grey; and Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 245, 246, 8vo.—Ed.

bridge, and his fears lest king Charles II. should agree with the Scots, and revoke his commission before he had executed it, now hurried him to his own ruin.

The young king being in treaty with the Scots covenanters at Breda, was forced to stifle his resentments for the death of the marquis, and submit to the following hard conditions:

(1.) "That all persons excommunicated by the kirk should be forbid the court.

(2.) "That the king by his solemn oath, and under his hand and seal, declare his allowance of the covenant.

(3.) "That he confirm those acts of parliament which enjoin the covenant. That he establish the Presbyterian worship and discipline, and swear never to oppose, or endeavour to alter them.

(4.) "That all civil matters be determined by parliament; and all ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.

(5.) "That his majesty ratify all that has been done in the parliament of Scotland in some late sessions, and sign the covenant upon his arrival in that kingdom, if the kirk desired it."*

The king arrived in Scotland June 23; but before his landing the commissioners insisted on his signing the covenant, and upon parting with all his old counsellors, which he did, and was then conducted by the way of Aberdeen and St. Andrew's to his house at Faulkland. July 11, his majesty was proclaimed at the cross at Edinburgh, but the ceremony of his coronation was deferred to the beginning of the next year. In the meantime the English commonwealth was providing for a war which they saw was unavoidable, and general Fairfax refusing to act against the Scots, his commission was immediately given to Cromwell, with the title of captain-general in chief of all the forces raised and to be raised by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England. Three days after, viz. June 29, he marched with eleven thousand foot and five thousand horse towards the borders of Scotland, being re-

* Besides taking the covenant, it was enacted of the king also to acknowledge twelve articles of repentance, in which were enumerated the sins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother; and in which were declarations, that he sought the restitution of his rights for the sole advantage of religion, and in subordination to the kingdom of Christ. Mrs. Macaulay's History of England, vol. 5. p. 62, 8vo.—Ed.

solved not to wait for the Scots invading England, but to carry the war into their country. The Scots complained to the English parliament of this conduct, as a breach of the act of pacification, and of the covenant; but were answered, that they had already broken the peace by their treaty with Charles Stuart, whom they had not only received as their king, but promised to assist in recovering the crown of England. Their receiving the king was certainly their right as an Independent nation; but whether their engaging to assist him in recovering the crown of England was not declaring war, must be left to the reader.

July 22, the general crossed the Tweed, and marched his army almost as far as Edinburgh without much opposition, the country being deserted by reason of the terror of the name of Cromwell, and the reports that were spread of his cruelty in Ireland. Not a Scotsman appeared under sixty, nor a youth above six years old, to interrupt his march. All provisions were destroyed, or removed, to prevent the subsistence of the army, which was supplied from time to time by sea; but the general having made proclamation, that no man should be injured in his person or goods who was not found in arms, the people took heart and returned to their dwellings.

The Scots army, under the command of general Lesley, stood on the defensive, and watched the motions of the English all the month of August; the main body being intrenched within six miles of Edinburgh, to the number of thirty thousand of the best men that ever Scotland saw; general Cromwell did every thing he could to draw them to a battle, till by the fall of rain and bad weather he was obliged to retreat to Musselborough, and from thence to Dunbar, where he was reduced to the utmost straits, having no way left but to conquer or die.* In this extremity he summoned the officers to prayer; after which he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the earl of Roxborough's gardens, that lay under the hill upon which the Scots army was encamped, and discovering by perspective glasses that they were coming down to attack him, he said God was delivering them into his hands. That night proving very rainy, the general refreshed his men in the town, and ordered them

* Life of Cromwell, p. 178. Burnet's Hist. vol. 1. p. 74. Edinb. edit.

to take particular care of their firelocks, which the Scots neglected, who were all the night coming down the hill. Early next morning, September 3, the general with a strong party of horse beat their guards, and then advancing with his whole army, after about an hour's dispute, entered their camp and carried all before him: about four thousand Scots fell in battle, ten thousand were made prisoners, with fifteen hundred arms, and all their artillery and ammunition; the loss of the English amounting to no more than about three hundred men.

It is an odd reflection lord Clarendon* makes upon this victory: "Never was victory obtained (says his lordship) with less lamentation; for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph, so the king was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies."† Such was the encouragement the Scots had to fight for their king!

Immediately after this action, the general took possession of Edinburgh, which was in a manner deserted by the clergy; some having shut themselves up in the castle, and others fled with their effects to Stirling, the general, to deliver them from their fright, sent a trumpet to the castle, to assure the governor that the ministers might return to their churches, and preach without any disturbance from him, for he had no quarrel with the Scots nation on the score of religion.‡ But the ministers replied, that having no security for their persons, they thought it their duty to reserve themselves for better times. Upon which the general wrote to the governor,

"That his kindness offered to the ministers in the castle,

* Vol. 3. p. 377.

† Dr. Grey adds the reason which lord Clarendon assigns for the king's rejoicing in this victory; which was, his apprehension that if the Scots had prevailed, they would have shut him up in prison the next day: whereas, after this defeat, they looked upon the king as one they might stand in need of, gave him more liberty than they had before allowed, permitted his servants to wait on him, and began to talk of a parliament and of a time for his coronation.—Ed.

‡ It is a proof of this, that while Oliver Cromwell was at Edinburgh, he attended divine worship in the great church there, when Mr. William Derham preached, and called Oliver a usurper to his face. He was so far from resenting this, that he invited Mr. Derham to visit him in the evening, when they supped together in great harmony. Oliver observed, however, "that it was well known to him, how much he and his brethren disliked him: but they might assure themselves that, if any of the Stuart line came to the throne, they would find their little fingers greater than his loins." Dr. Gibbons's Account of the Cromwell Family, annexed to his Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, *ess.* p. 47.—Ed.

was without any fraudulent reserve ; that if their Master's service was their principal concern, they would not be so excessively afraid of suffering for it. That those divines had misreported the conduct of his party, when they charged them with persecuting the ministers of Christ in England ; for the ministers in England (says he) are supported, and have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail at their superiors at discretion ; nor, under a pretended privilege of character, to overtop the civil powers, or debase them as they please.—No man has been disturbed in England or Ireland for preaching the gospel ; nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the army hither—speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ ; but when ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as the late agreement with their king ; they may know, that the Sion promised is not to be built with such untempered mortar. And for the unjust invasion they [the ministers] mention, time was when an army out of Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme authority—we have said in our papers, with what hearts and upon what account we came, and the Lord has heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel—I have nothing to say to you, but that I am,

“ Sir, your humble servant,

“ O. CROMWELL.”*

The Scots ministers, in their reply to this letter, objected to the general his opening the pulpit-doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broke in upon the nation. To which the general replied, “ We look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people : I appeal to their consciences, whether any denying of their doctrines, or dissenting from them, will not incur the censure of a sectary ; and what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair ? where do you find in Scripture that preaching is included within your function ? though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at all.

* Life of Cromwell, p. 182.

"I hope he that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he pleases; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, are not you envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly, that we may prophesy; which the apostle explains to be a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of.

"Now, if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua, when he envied for his sake. Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Appropriation is an act of convenience in respect of order, not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel.

"Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, then judge."*

The governor complained to the general, that the parliament at Westminster had fallen from their principles, not being true to the ends of the covenant. And then adds with the ministers, that men of secular employments had usurped the office of the ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches.

In answer to the first part of this expostulation, general Cromwell desired to know, whether their bearing witness to themselves, was a good evidence of their having prosecuted the ends of the covenant? "To infer this (says he), is to have too favourable an opinion of your own judgment and impartiality. Your doctrines and practice ought to be tried by the word of God, and other people must have a liberty of examining them upon these heads, and of giving sentence."†

As to the charge of indulging the use of the pulpit to the laity, the general admits it, and adds, "Are ye troubled that Christ is preached? does it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? is it against the covenant? away with the covenant if it be so. I thought the covenant and these men would have been willing, that

* Whitelocke, p. 458. Collyer's Ecclesiastical History, p. 863. † Ibid. p. 864.

any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor the kirk you mention so much the spouse of Christ."

The general, in one of his letters, lays considerable stress upon the success of their arms, after a most solemn appeal to God on both sides. To which the Scots governor replied, "We have not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of a cause upon events." To which Cromwell answers, "We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to those marvellous dispensations which God has lately wrought in England. But did you not solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, and not slightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and ours renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God to see how he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you."—

From this correspondence the reader may form a judgment of the governing principles of the Scots and English at this time; the former were so inviolably attached to their covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconsistent with it. The English, after seeking God in prayer, judged of the goodness of their cause by the appearance of Providence in its favour; most of the officers and soldiers were men of strict devotion, but went upon this mistaken principle, that God would never appear for a bad cause after a solemn appeal to him for decision. However, the Scots lost their courage, and surrendered the impregnable castle of Edinburgh into the hands of the conqueror December 24, the garrison having liberty to march out with their baggage to Burnt-Island in Fife; and soon after the whole kingdom was subdued.

The provincial assembly of London met this year as usual, in the months of May and November, but did nothing remarkable; the parliament waited to reconcile them to the engagement, and prolonged the time limited for taking it; but when they continued inflexible, and instead of submitting to the present powers were plotting with the Scots, it was resolved to clip their wings, and make some examples, as a

terror to the rest. June 21, the committee for regulating the universities was ordered to tender the engagement to all such officers, masters, and fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their refusal to displace them. Accordingly, in the university of Cambridge, Mr. Vines, Dr. Rainbow, and some others, were displaced, and succeeded by Mr. Sydrach Sympson, Mr. Jo. Sadler, and Mr. Dell. In the university of Oxford, Dr. Reynolds the vice-chancellor refused the engagement, but after some time offered to take it, in hopes of saving his deanery of Christ-church; but the parliament resenting the example, took advantage of his forfeiture, and gave the deanery to Dr. John Owen, an Independent divine, who took possession of it, March 18, 1650—1.*

Upon the resignation of the vice-chancellor, Dr. Daniel Greenwood, principal of Brazen-nose-college, and a Presbyterian divine, was appointed his successor, October 12, and on the 15th of January following, Oliver Cromwell, now in Scotland, was chosen unanimously, in full convocation, chancellor of the university in the room of the earl of Pembroke lately deceased.† When the doctors and masters who were sent to Edinburgh acquainted him with the choice, he wrote a letter to the university, in which after a modest refusal of their favour he adds, “If these arguments prevail not, and that I must continue this honour till I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers, that piety and learning may flourish among you, and be rendered useful and subservient to that great and glorious kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which, so plentiful an effusion of the Holy Spirit upon those hopeful plants among you is one of the best presages.”—When the general’s letter was read in convocation, the house resounded with cheerful acclamations. Dr. Greenwood continued vice-chancellor two years, but was then displaced for his disaffection to the government, and the honour was conferred on Dr. Owen. Thus by degrees the Presbyterians lost their influence in the universities, and delivered them up into the hands of the Independents.

To strengthen the hands of the government yet farther, the parliament, by an ordinance bearing date September 20, took away all the penal statutes for religion.‡ The pre-

* Baxter’s Life, p. 64.

† Wood’s Fasti, p. 92; or Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 772.

‡ Scobel, p. 131.

amble sets forth, "that divers religious and peaceable people, well-affected to the commonwealth, having not only been molested and imprisoned, but brought into danger of abjuring their country, or in case of return to suffer death as felons, by sundry acts made in the times of former kings and queens of this nation, against recusants not coming to church, &c. they therefore enact and ordain,

"That all the clauses, articles, and provisos, in the ensuing acts of parliament, viz. 1 Eliz. 23 Eliz. 35 Eliz., and all and every branch, clause, article, or proviso, in any other act or ordinance of parliament, whereby any penalty or punishment is imposed, or meant to be imposed on any person whatsoever, for not repairing to their respective parish-churches; or for not keeping of holy days; or for not hearing Common Prayer, &c. shall be, and are hereby, wholly repealed and made void.

"And to the end that no profane or licentious persons may take occasion, by the repeal of the said laws, to neglect the performance of religious duties, it is farther ordained, that all persons not having a reasonable excuse, shall on every Lord's day, and day of public thanksgiving or humiliation, resort to some place of public worship; or be present at some other place, in the practice of some religious duty, either of prayer or preaching, reading or expounding the Scriptures."—

By this law the doors were set open, and the state was at liberty to employ all such in their service as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious principles.

Sundry severe ordinances were made for suppressing of vice, error, and all sorts of profaneness and impiety. May 10, it was ordained, "that incest and adultery should be made felony; and that fornication should be punished with three months' imprisonment for the first offence; and that the second offence should be felony without benefit of clergy. Common bawds, or persons who keep lewd houses, are to be set in the pillory; to be whipped, and marked in the forehead with the letter B, and then committed to the house of correction for three years for the first offence; and for the second to suffer death, provided the prosecution be within twelve months."*

* Scobel, p. 121.

June 28, it was ordained, "that every nobleman who shall be convicted of profane cursing and swearing, by the oath of one or more witnesses, or by his own confession, shall pay for the first offence thirty shillings to the poor of the parish; a baronet, or knight, twenty shillings; an esquire ten shillings; a gentleman six shillings and eight-pence; and all inferior persons three shillings and four-pence. For the second offence they are to pay double, according to their qualities above mentioned. And for the tenth offence they are to be judged common swearers and cursers, and to be bound over to their good behaviour for three years. The like punishment for women, whose fines are to be determined according to their own or their husbands' quality."*

August 9, an ordinance was passed, for punishing blasphemous and execrable opinions. The preamble takes notice, that "though several laws had been made for promoting reformation in doctrines and manners, yet there were divers men and women who had lately discovered monstrous opinions, even such as tended to the dissolution of human society; the parliament therefore, according to their declaration of September 27, 1649, in which they said, they should be ready to testify their displeasure against such offenders, by strict and effectual proceedings against them who should abuse and turn into licentiousness the liberty given in matters of religion, do therefore ordain and enact,

"That any persons not distempered in their brains, who shall maintain any mere creature to be God, or to be infinite, almighty, &c. or that shall deny the holiness of God; or shall maintain, that all acts of wickedness and unrighteousness are not forbidden in Holy Scripture; or that God approves them: any one who shall maintain, that acts of drunkenness, adultery, swearing, &c. are not in themselves shameful, wicked, sinful, and impious; or that there is not any real difference between moral good and evil, &c. all such persons shall suffer six months' imprisonment for the first offence; and for the second shall be banished; and if they return without licence shall be treated as felons."†

Though several ordinances had been made heretofore for the strict observation of the Lord's day, the present house of commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated

* Scobel, p. 123.

† Ibid. p. 124.

April 19, 1650, in which they ordain, "that all goods cried or put to sale on the Lord's day, or other days of humiliation and thanksgiving appointed by authority, shall be seized. No waggoner or drover shall travel on the Lord's day on penalty of 10s. for every offence. No persons shall travel in boats, horses, or coaches, except to church, on penalty of 10s. The like penalty for being in a tavern. And where distress is not to be made, the offender is to be put into the stocks six hours. All peace-officers are required to make diligent search for discovering offenders; and in case of neglect, the justice of peace is fined 5*l*. and every constable 20s." Such was the severity of these times.*

The parliament having ordered the sale of bishops' lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and vested the money in the hands of trustees, as has been related, appointed this year, April 5, part of the money to be appropriated for the support and maintenance of such late bishops, deans, prebendaries, singing-men, choristers, and other members, officers, and persons destitute of maintenance, whose respective offices, places, and livelihoods, were taken away, and abolished, distributing and proportioning the same according to their necessities. How well this was executed I cannot determine; but it was a generous act of compassion, and more than the church of England would do for the Nonconformists at the Restoration.†

A motion being made in the house about translating all law-books into the English language, Mr. Whitelocke made a learned speech on the argument, wherein he observes, that "Moses read the law to the Jews in the Hebrew language; that the laws of all the eastern nations were in their mother-tongue; the laws of Constantinople were in Greek; at Rome they were in Latin; in France, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and other places, their laws are published in their native language. As for our own country (says he), those who can read the Saxon character may find the laws of our ancestors in that language. Pursuant to this regulation, William duke of Normandy, commonly called the Conqueror, commanded the laws to be published in English, that none might pretend ignorance. He observes farther, that by 36 Eliz. cap. 3, it was ordered, that all pleadings should be in English; and even in the reigns of those

* Scobel, p. 119.

Ibid. p. 111.

princes, wherein our statutes were enrolled in French, the sheriffs were obliged to proclaim them in English, because the people were deeply concerned to know the laws of their country, and not to be kept in ignorance of the rule by which their interests and duty were directed.”*

The arguments in this speech were so forcible, that the house agreed unanimously to a bill, wherein they ordain, “that all books of law be translated into English; and all proceedings in any court of justice, except the court of Admiralty, after Easter term 1651, shall be in English only; and all writs, &c. shall be in a legible hand, and not in court-hand, on forfeiture of 20*l.* for the first offence, half to the commonwealth, and the other half to them that will sue for the same.”† And though this regulation ceased at the Restoration, as all other ordinances did that were made in these times, the late parliament has thought fit to revive it.

From this time we may date the rise of the people called Quakers, in whom most of the enthusiasts of these times centred: their first leader was George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire 1624; his father, being a poor weaver,‡ put him apprentice to a country shoemaker, but having a peculiar turn of mind for religion, he went away from his master, and wandered up and down the country like a hermit, in a leathern doublet; at length his friends hearing he was at London, persuaded him to return home, and settle in some regular course of employment; but after he had been

* Whitlocke, p. 460.

† Scobel, p. 155.

‡ It is to be wished, that Mr. Neal had not used this epithet, poor. It is not in the author, whom he quotes, was needless, and has the appearance of contempt. The parents of Fox were truly respectable: his father, Christopher Fox, of such a virtuous life, that his neighbours called him righteous Christer; his mother, of the stock of martyrs, and a woman of qualifications superior to the generality of her circumstances in life: they were both members of the national church, distinguished by piety, and cherished the religious turn of mind which their son discovered in his earliest years. Virtuous and sober manners, a peculiar stayedness of mind, and gravity of demeanour, marked his youth. His chief employment under his master, who also dealt in wool and cattle, was to keep sheep, which was well suited to his disposition both for inactivity and softude. He acquitted himself with a fidelity and diligence, that conduced much to the success of his master's affairs. It was a custom with him to ratify his dealing with the word *verily*; to which he so firmly and conscientiously adhered, that those who knew him would remark, “If George says *verily*, there is no altering.” Mr. Neal's expression, “he went away from his master,” may be understood as intimating a clandestine and dishonourable leaving his master's service: which was not the case. He did not begin his solitary travels, till after his apprenticeship was finished, and he had returned home to his parents. The leathern dress was adopted by him, on account of its simplicity and its durability, as it required little repairing, which was convenient to him in his wandering and unsettled course of life. Sewel's Hist. p. 6. 12; and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 60.—Ed

some months in the country, he went from his friends a second time, in the year 1646, and threw off all farther attendance on the public service in the churches: the reasons he gave for his conduct were, because it was revealed to him, that a learned education at the university was no qualification for a minister, but that all depended on the anointing of the Spirit, and that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands. In the year 1647, he travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, walking through divers towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned, in a solitary manner. He fasted much (says my author), and walked often abroad in retired places, with no other companion but his Bible. He would sometimes set in a hollow tree all day, and frequently walked about the fields in the night, like a man possessed with deep melancholy; which the writer of his life calls the "time of the first working of the Lord upon him."* Towards the latter end of this year, he began first to set up for a teacher of others, about Duckinfield and Manchester; the principal argument of his discourse being, that people should receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord, and take that for their rule.

In the year 1648, there being a dissolution of all government both civil and ecclesiastical, George Fox waxed bold,† and travelled through the counties of Leicester, Northampton, and Derby, speaking to the people in market-places, &c. about the inward light of Christ within them.‡ At this time, says my author,§ he apprehended the

* Sewel's History of the Quakers, p. 6—12.

† The circumstances of this period, as stated by Gough, will shew the propriety of our author's language here, and preclude the suspicion that has fallen on him, of intending to insinuate that the boldness of George Fox was criminal, and that the dissolution of government had rendered him licentious. At this time the Independents and republicans had accomplished their purpose: regal dominion, the peculiar privileges of the nobility, and the office of bishops, were abolished. Their professed principles were in favour of civil and religious liberty. The places of public worship seem, for a season, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to theological discussion and disputation between the teachers or members of various sects. These propitious circumstances furnished Fox and others with opportunities of disseminating their opinions: and a fair opportunity, naturally, inspires and emboldens to any undertaking. Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 72.—Ed.

‡ The words of Sewel are, "that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ." The term used, by this historian, for the followers of Fox, is fellow-believers, without any reference to their sex; nor does his narrative shew, that they consisted more of women than men; which Mr. Neal's expression seems to intimate.—Ed.

§ History of the Quakers, p. 18.

Lord had forbid him to put off his hat to any one, high or low; he was required also to speak to the people without distinction in the language of thou and thee. He was not to bid people good-morrow, or good-night; neither might he bend his knee to the chief magistrate in the nation; the women* that followed him would not make a courtesy to their superiors, nor comply with the common forms of speech. Both men and women affected a plain and simple dress, distinct from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man master on earth. They refused to take an oath on the most solemn occasion. These and the like peculiarities, he supported by such passages of Scripture as these, "Swear not at all;" "How can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only?" But these marks of distinction which George Fox and his followers were so tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of trouble, when they were called to appear before the civil magistrate.

In the year 1649, he grew more troublesome, and began to interrupt the public ministers in time of divine service: his first essay of this kind was at Nottingham, where the minister preaching from these words of St. Peter, "We have a more sure word of prophecy," &c. told the people, that they were to try all doctrines, opinions, and religions, by the Holy Scriptures. Upon which George Fox stood up in the middle of the congregation and said, "Oh no! it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which opinions and religions are to be tried; for it was the Spirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it." And continuing his speech to the disturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him to the sheriff's house; next day he was committed to the castle, but was quickly released without any other punishment.† After this he dis-

* See note ‡ of preceding page.

† Mr. Neal's account of this imprisonment of George Fox is censured by a late historian, as not strictly true, nor supported by his authority, Sewel, and through a partial bias a very palliative narration. The fact more exactly and fully stated is this: That Fox was not taken immediately from the church to the sheriff's house, but to prison, and put into a place so filthy and intolerably noisome, that the smell thereof was very grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, of the town, and after examination was recommitted. But one of the

turbed the minister of Mansfield in time of divine service, for which he was set in the stocks, and turned out of the town.* The like treatment he met with at Market-Bosworth, and several other towns.† At length the magistrates of Derby confined him six months in prison, for uttering divers blasphemous opinions,‡ pursuant to a late act of

sheriffs, whose name was Reckless, being much affected with the sentiments he had advanced, removed him to his own house. During his residence there, Mr. Fox was visited by persons of considerable condition; the sheriff, as well as his wife and family, was greatly affected with his doctrine; insomuch that he and several others exhorted the people and the magistrates to repentance. This provoked the latter to remove Fox back to the common prison, where he lay till the assizes. When he was to have been brought before the judge, the officer was so dilatory in the execution of his business, that the court was broken up before he was conducted to it. He was, on this, again ordered into the common jail, and detained there some time longer. As far as appears, he was imprisoned, detained in prison, and released, at the mere will and pleasure of the magistrates of Nottingham, without any legal cause assigned. "Such arbitrary exertion of power (well observes my author) ill agrees with a regard for chartered privileges and equal liberty." Gough's Hist. of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 83, 84. Sewel's Hist. p. 21, 22.—ED.

* Mr. Neal is considered as passing over this treatment of Fox in too "cursory a manner;" and is blamed for placing his conduct in the most invidious light it would bear, disturbing the minister. But, surely, if Mr. Fox spoke while the minister was preaching, without waiting till he had finished his discourse, it was disturbing him by an unseasonable interruption. But this circumstance is not to be clearly ascertained by Sewel. The treatment which Fox met with was iniquitous and violent to an extreme degree. The hearers of the minister "converted the place of divine worship into a scene of lawless riot, and the time set apart for the service of God into an enormous abuse of a fellow-creature; manifesting their religion to be such (observes Mr. Gough with great propriety) at the time when it should most affect their minds, as admitted of injury, revenge, and violating the peace and order of society. For they assaulted Mr. Fox in a furious manner, struck him down, and beat him cruelly with their hands, Bibles, and sticks, whereby he was grievously bruised. After they had thus vented their rage, they haled him out, and put him into the stocks, where he sat some hours: and then they took him before a magistrate, who, seeing how grossly he had been abused, after much threatening, set him at liberty. But still the rude multitude, insatiate in abuse, stoned him out of the town, though hardly able to go, or well to stand, by reason of their violent usage." It should be remarked here, that the magistrate's conduct was extremely culpable, in not inflicting a punishment on these disturbers of the peace, for this unjust and violent attack on a man who had done them no harm, but meant to do them good; and in not affording to him his protection. Gough's Hist. vol. 1. p. 84—86.—ED.

† Sewel, p. 22.

‡ This was the language of the mittimus, by which Fox and another were committed to the house of correction: we regret that Mr. Neal should have adopted it, without giving his reader the grounds on which the severe epithet was applied to their opinions. After the service of a lecture, at which Mr. Fox had attended, was finished, he spoke what was on his mind, and was heard without molestation: when he had done, an officer took him by the hand, and carried him before the magistrates. Being asked, "why he came thither?" he answered, that "God had moved him to it:" and added, "that God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices, would never sanctify them; but that they ought to look unto Christ in them, and not unto men, for it is Christ that sanctifies." As they were very full of words, sometimes disputing, and sometimes deriding, he told them, "they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him." At last they asked him, "if he was sanctified?" he replied, "Yes:" "if he had no sin?" his answer was, "Christ my Saviour hath taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin." To the next question, "How he and his friends knew Christ was in them?" he replied, "by his Spirit, which he hath given us." Then they were asked, "if

parliament for that purpose. By this time there began to appear some other visionaries, of the same make and complexion with George Fox, who spoke in places of public resort; being moved, as they said, by the Holy Ghost; and even some women, contrary to the modesty of their sex, went about streets, and entered into churches, crying down the teaching of men, and exhorting people to attend to the light within themselves.

It was in the year 1650 that these wandering lights first received the denomination of Quakers, upon this ground, that their speaking to the people was usually attended with convulsive agitations, and shakings of the body. All their speakers had these tremblings, which they gloried in, asserting it to be the character of a good man to tremble before God. When George Fox appeared before Gervas Bennet, esq. one of the justices of Derby, October 30, 1650, he had one of his agitations, or fits of trembling, upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body, bid the justice and those about him tremble at the word of the Lord; whereupon the justice gave him and his friends the name of Quakers, which being agreeable to their common behaviour, quickly became the distinguishing denomination of this people.*

any of them were Christ?" to which insidious query he answered, "Nay, we are nothing; Christ is all." He was next interrogated, "If a man steal, is it no sin?" to which his reply was, "All unrighteousness is sin." With what candour, with what propriety, with what truth, could the charge of blasphemy be grounded on these declarations, especially by the magistrates who examined and committed him? The names to the mittimus were Ger. Bennet and Nath. Barton: both of them were independent, the latter an officer and preacher: men whose own tenets implied a supernatural influence, and admitted no interference of the civil magistrate in spiritual concerns, but were pointed in favour of universal toleration: one of whom could himself have no commission to preach but on the ground of God's moving him to it. These were the men who accused Fox of blasphemy, and imprisoned him: "a remarkable instance (observes Mr. Gough) of the inconsistency of men with themselves in different stations of life:" a remarkable instance, it may be added, how the law may be wrested and justice perverted by passion and prejudice. Mr. Neal's manner of relating this transaction, unhappily, conceals the criminal conduct of these magistrates, and is too much calculated to perpetuate the prejudice which misled and governed them. Sewel's History, p. 24; and Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 90—94.—Ed.

* The above paragraph has given great offence, and is severely censured by Mr. Gough, as "an opprobrious description approaching to scurrility." The plain fact, as it stands in Sewel, has none of those circumstances of agitations, a loud voice and vehement emotions, with which Mr. Neal has described it, and for which he has quoted no authority. Fox, according to Sewel, having bid the justice and those about him to "tremble at the word of the Lord," Mr. Bennet took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him, and his friends, scornfully, Quakers. This name was eagerly taken up and spread among the people. As to the convulsive emotions with which, it is said, the preaching of

"At length they disturbed the public worship by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical representations of some impending calamity; they also took the liberty of giving ministers the reproachful names of hirelings, deceivers of the people, false prophets, &c. Some of them went through divers towns and villages naked, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation. Some have famished and destroyed themselves by deep melancholy; and others have undertaken to raise their friends from the dead. Mr. Baxter says,* many Franciscan friars and other Papists have been disguised speakers in their assemblies; but little credit is to be given to such reports.†

It cannot be expected that such an unsettled people should have a uniform system of rational principles. Their first and chief design, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory; and because some had laid too great stress upon rites and ceremonies, these would have neither order nor regularity, nor stated seasons of worship, but all must arise from the inward impulse of their

these Christians, was accompanied, it is but fair to hear their advocate. "We readily admit (says Mr. Gough) these promulgators of primitive Christianity had no university education, were not trained in schools of oratory. It was plain truth and righteousness they sought to follow and recommend in a plain simple way, without the studied decorations of fine language, or the engaging attractions of a graceful motion; they spoke not to the head, or to the eye, but to the hearts of their auditors. Being themselves animated, and deeply affected in spirit with the inward feeling of the power of that truth, to the knowledge of which they aimed to bring others, that thereby they might be saved; an unaffected warmth of zeal in recommending righteousness, and testifying against vice and wickedness, might produce a warmth of expression and action also, which to an invidious eye might appear convulsive: but their convulsions did not bereave them of understanding; they spoke with the spirit and with the understanding also, of things which they knew, and testified of things which they had seen. And their doctrine was often effectual to open the understanding of their hearers, to see clearly the state of their minds, both what they were and what they ought to be." Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 96, note.—Ed.
* Baxter's Life, p. 77.

† If but little credit is to be given to such reports, it may be asked, why are they introduced: when, if not refuted, they tend to mislead the reader, and to fix a reproach on an innocent people? Is it becoming the candour and dignity of an historian, by recording, to appear to give them a sanction? As to the case in hand, Mr. Baxter, on whose authority Mr. Neal speaks, though he was a great and excellent man, was not entirely exempt from the influence of prejudice and credulity. In general, stories to the discredit of a new, despised, and hated sect, are, often, eagerly adopted and spread with circumstances of aggravation. So it happened to the first Christians. This has befallen the Methodists in our times. And the Quakers, being particular objects of priestly indignation, had reason to complain of this. They were often confounded with an ephemeron sect, whose principles were totally incompatible with theirs, called Ranters, and whose practices outraged all decency and order. An active preacher amongst the Quakers, Mr. Edward Burroughs, and the celebrated Barolay, wrote against the practices of these people. Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 128, 129, note; and vol. 3. p. 15.—Ed.

spirits. Agreeable to this rule, they declared against all sorts of clergy, or settled ministers; against people's assembling in steeple-houses; against fixed times* of public devotion, and consequently against the observation of the sabbath. Their own meetings were occasional,* and when they met, one or another spake as they were moved from within, and sometimes they departed without any one's being moved to speak at all.

The doctrines they delivered were as vague and uncertain† as the principle from which they acted. They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a dead letter, and maintaining that every man had a light within himself, which was a sufficient rule. They denied the received doctrine of the Trinity and incarnation. They disowned the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper; nay, some of them proceeded so far as to deny a Christ without them; or at least, to place more of their dependance upon a Christ within. They spake little or nothing, says Mr. Baxter,‡ about the depravity of nature; about the covenant of grace; about pardon of sin,

* This is not accurate, or is applicable only to the infancy of the sect. For, though they did not esteem one house more holy than another, and believed all times equally the Lord's, and that all days should be sabbaths or times of continual rest and abstinence from evil; yet as soon as their numbers were sufficient for the purpose, they held fixed and regular meetings for worship, particularly on the first day of the week, which they chose as more convenient, because more generally accepted than any other. In 1654, meetings were settled in many places in the north, and also in the city of London, which were held in private houses, till the body growing too large to be accommodated in them, a house known by the name of Bull-and-Mouth, in Martin's-Le-Grand, near Aldersgate-street, was hired for a meeting-house. And no body of Christians were more open, steady, and regular, than they have been in their public associations for worship or discipline. Sewel's History, p. 80. 84. Gough's Hist. vol. 1. p. 144 and 509.—Ed.

† The account which Mr. Neal gives of the sentiments and practices of the Quakers in this and the preceding paragraph, is not drawn up with the accuracy and precision, not to say candour, which should mark the historic page. It has too much the appearance of the loose desultory representation, which those who had not investigated their principles, nor looked into their writings, would exhibit of this sect. It is, I think, introduced at an improper place, in too early a period of their history; when Mr. Neal himself has related only what concerned George Fox, and before his followers were formed into a body. At that time it was not to be expected, that their principles should be made into a system; and their doctrines being delivered as the assertions of individuals only, and deriving their completion from their different tastes, capacities, and views, would to the public eye wear the aspect of variety and uncertainty. But long before Mr. Neal wrote, their principles had assumed a systematic form. Penn had published his Key, and Robert Barclay his Catechism and Confession of Faith, and that elaborate work his Apology. The propositions illustrated and defended in this treatise exhibit a concise view of the chief principles of the Quakers; and that they may speak for themselves we will give them in the Appendix, no. 12.—Ed.

‡ Baxter, p. 77.

and reconciliation with God ; or about moral duties.* But the disturbance they gave to the public religion for a course of years was so insufferable, that the magistrates could not avoid punishing them as disturbers of the peace ; though of late they are become a more sober and inoffensive people ; and by the wisdom of their managers, have formed themselves into a sort of body politic, and are in general very worthy members of society.

CHAP. II.

FROM THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN SCOTLAND, TO THE PROTECTORSHIP OF OLIVER CROMWELL. 1651.

THE coronation of king Charles by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought necessary to give life to their cause, was solemnized at Scone on New-year's-day 1651, with as much magnificence as their circumstances would admit ;† when his majesty took the following oath : “ I Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant ; and faithfully ob-

* This quotation is not correct. Mr. Baxter's words, concerning the strain of their preaching, are these. “ They speak much for the dwelling and working of the Spirit in us ; but little of justification, and the pardon of sin, and our reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ.” Here is nothing said about their neglecting to insist on “ moral duties.” The great object of Fox's zeal, we are told, was a heavenly temper and a life of righteousness : and his endeavours to propagate true religion and righteousness were not confined to public or private meetings, but exerted in other places as occasion offered ; particularly, in courts of judicature, to admonish to justice, and caution against oppression : in markets, to recommend truth, candour, and fair dealings, and to bear his testimony against fraud and deceitful merchandise : at public houses of entertainment, to warn against indulging intemperance, by supplying their guests with more liquor than would do them good : at schools and in private families, to exhort to the training up of children and servants to sobriety, in the fear of their Maker ; to testify against vain sports, plays, and shows, as tending to draw people into vanity and libertinism, and from that state of circumspection and attentive consideration, wherein our salvation is to be wrought out, forewarning all of the great day of account for all the deeds done in the body. This was certainly insisting on moral duties, and bringing home the principles of righteousness to the various circumstances of human life, with much propriety and energy. Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 67. 75.—ED.

† The ceremonial of this coronation is given at length by Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 111—124.—ED.

lige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I myself and successors shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant, and fully establish Presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the general assembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal assent to all acts of parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." This oath was annexed to the covenant itself, drawn up in a fair roll of parchment, and subscribed by him in the presence of the nobility and gentry.*

His majesty also signed a declaration, in which he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his father's door.† He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and of the prejudices he had drunk in, against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible. He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his commission to Montrose. He acknowledged his own sins, and the sins of his father's house, and says, he will account them his enemies who oppose the covenants, both which he had taken without any sinister intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his detestation and abhorrence of all Popery, superstition, idolatry, and prelacy, and resolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his great sin in making peace with the Irish rebels, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, resolving for the future rather to choose affliction than sin; and though he judges charitably of those who have acted against the covenant, yet he promises not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the conclusion, his majesty confesses over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the state of the question was now altered, inasmuch as he had obtained mercy to be on God's side,

* Olmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 391.

† History of the Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 78, Edinb. edit.

and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause, since he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Our historians, who complain of the prevarication of Cromwell, would do well to find a parallel to this in all history; the king took the covenant three times with this tremendous oath, "By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will observe and keep all that is contained herein." Mr. Baxter admits,* that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the young king to speak and publish that, which they might easily know was contrary to the thoughts of his heart; but surely his majesty was no less to blame, to trample upon the most sacred bonds of religion and society. He complied with the rigours of the Scots discipline and worship: he heard many prayers and sermons of great length. "I remember (says bishop Burnett) in one fast-day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. He was not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reproved for it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all strictness in religion." And the Scots were so jealous that all this was from necessity, that they would suffer none of his old friends to come into his presence and councils, nor so much as to serve in the army.

While the Scots were raising forces for the king's service, a private correspondence was carried on with the English Presbyterians; letters were also written, and messengers sent from London to the king and queen-mother in France, to hasten an accommodation with the Scots, assuring them, that the English Presbyterians would then declare for him the first opportunity. Considerable sums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated their designs. The principal gentlemen and ministers concerned in the correspondence, were some disbanded

* "It seemed to me and many others (says Mr. Baxter), that the Scots miscarried divers ways: 1. In imposing laws upon their king, for which they had no authority: 2. In forcing him to dishonour the memory of his father by such confessions: 3. In tempting him to speak and publish that which they might easily know was contrary to his heart, and so to take God's name in vain: 4. And in giving Cromwell occasion to charge them all with dissimulation." Baxter's Life, p. 66.—ED.

† P. 73.

officers who had served the parliament in the late wars; as major Adams, Alford, and Huntington; colonel Vaughan, Sowton, Titus, Jackson, Bains, Barton; captain Adams, Potter, Far, Massey, Starks; and Mr. Gibbons. The ministers were, Dr. Drake, Mr. Case, Watson, Heyrick, Jenkins, Jackson, Jacquel, Robinson, Cawton, Nalson, Haviland, Blackmore, and Mr. Love. These had their private assemblies at major Adams's, colonel Barton's, and at Mr. Love's house, and held a correspondence with the king, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda to moderate the Scots demands, which service he would reward when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who had their spies in all places. Major Adams, being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered the conspiracy to the council of state. On his information warrants were issued out, for apprehending most of the gentlemen and ministers above mentioned; but several absconded, and withdrew from the storm. The ministers who were apprehended were, Dr. Drake, Mr. Jenkins, Jackson, Robinson, Watson, Blackmore, and Haviland, who after some time were released on their petition for mercy, and promising submission to the government for the future; but Mr. Love and Gibbons were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. Jenkins's petition being expressed in very strong terms* was ordered to be printed; it was entitled, "The humble petition of William Jenkins, prisoner, declaring his unfeigned sorrow for all his late miscarriages, and promising to be true and faithful to the present government; with three queries, being the ground of his late petition, and submission to the present powers."

The reverend Mr. Love was brought before a new high court of justice erected for this purpose, as was the custom of these times for state criminals, when Mr. Attorney-general

* The most remarkable positions in this petition were: That the parliament, without the king, were the supreme authority of the nation: that God's providences are antecedent declarations of his will and approbation; and appeared as evidently in removing the king and investing their honours with the government, as in taking away and bestowing any government in any history of any age of the world: that the refusal of subjection to their authority was such an opposing the government set up by the sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, as none can have peace either in acting or suffering for: and that it was a duty to yield to this authority all active and cheerful obedience, in the Lord, for conscience' sake. Dr. Grey's Remarks, vol. 3. p. 127.—Ed.

Prideaux, June 20, exhibited against him the following charge of high-treason; "that at several times in the years 1649, 1650, and 1651, and in several places, he, with the persons above mentioned, had maliciously combined and contrived to raise forces against the present government—that they had declared and published Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late king, to be king of England, without consent of parliament—that they had aided the Scots to invade this commonwealth—that the said Christopher Love, at divers times between the 29th of March 1650, and the first of June 1651, at London and other places, had traitorously and maliciously maintained correspondence and intelligence by letters and messages with Charles Stuart, son of the late king, and with the queen his mother, and with sundry of his council—that he did likewise hold correspondence with divers of the Scots nation, and had assisted them with money, arms, and other supplies, in the present war, as well as colonel Titus and others of the English nation, in confederacy with them, to the hazard of the public peace, and in breach of the laws of the land."—

To this charge Mr. Love, after having demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, pleaded Not guilty. The witnesses against him were eight of the above-mentioned gentlemen. The reverend Mr. Jackson was summoned, but refused to be sworn, or give evidence, because he looked on Mr. Love to be a good man; saying, he should have a hell in his conscience to his dying day, if he should speak any thing that should be circumstantially prejudicial to Mr. Love's life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the public, and that the very safety of all government depended upon it. But he refused to be sworn, for which the court sent him to the Fleet, and fined him 500*l*.

But it appeared by the other witnesses, that Mr. Love had carried on a criminal correspondence both with the king and the Scots. With regard to the king it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty's death, several of them met at a tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert measures to forward the king's agreement with the Scots, for which purpose they applied by letters to the queen, and sent over colonel Titus with 100*l*. to defray his expenses. The colonel, having delivered his message, sent back letters by colonel Alsford, which were read in Mr. Love's house;

with the copy of a letter from the king himself, Mr. Love being present. Upon these and such-like facts, the council for the commonwealth insisted, that here was a criminal correspondence to restore the king, contrary to the ordinance of January 30, 1648, which says, "that whosoever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote, Charles Stuart, or any other person, to be king of England, without consent of parliament, shall be adjudged a traitor, and suffer the pains of death as a traitor."

The other branch of the charge against Mr. Love, was his correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament. To support this article, captain Potter, Adams, and Mr. Jacquel, swore, that letters came from Scotland to colonel Bamfield with the letter L upon them, giving a large narrative of the fight at Dunbar, and of the Scots affairs for three months after till Christmas. There came also letters from the earl of Argyle, Lothian, and Loudon, who proposed the rising 10,000*l.* to buy arms, and to hire shipping, in order to land five thousand men in England. The letters were read at Mr. Love's house; but the proposals being disliked, only 40*l.* was raised for the expenses of the messenger. At another time a letter was read from general Massey, in which he desires them to provide arms, and mentions his own and colonel Titus's necessities; upon which it was agreed to raise 2 or 300*l.* by way of contribution, and every one present wrote down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. Love, who not only contributed himself, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was construed by the council for the commonwealth, sufficient to bring Mr. Love within the ordinance of July 1, 1649, which says, "that if any shall procure, invite, aid, or assist, any foreigners or strangers to invade England or Ireland; or shall adhere to any forces raised by the enemies of the parliament, or commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England, all such persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high-treason."

Mr. Love in his defence behaved with a little too much freedom and boldness; he set too high a value upon his sacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, as being forced into the service to save their lives. He observes, that to several

of the facts there was only one witness ; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things ; which might easily happen at so great a distance of time. He called no witnesses to confront the evidence, but at the close of his defence confessed ingenuously, that there had been several meetings of the above-named persons at his house, that a commission was read, but that he had dissented from it. He acknowledged farther, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some part of them, “ but I was ignorant (says he) of the danger that I now see I am in. The act of August 2, 1650, makes it treason to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to send letters thither though but in a way of commerce, the two nations being at war ; now here my council acquaints me with my danger, that I being present when letters were read in my house, am guilty of a concealment, and therefore as to that, I humbly lay myself at your feet and mercy.”

And to move the court to shew mercy to him, he endeavoured to set out his own character in the most favourable light ; “ I have been called a malignant and apostate (says he), but, God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest ; I shall retain my covenanting principles, from which by the grace of God I will never depart ; neither am I an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland, but I am grieved for their divisions ; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I could account it well spent to quench the fire that our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the parliament’s quarrel, against the forces raised by the late king, not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty ; and I am so far from repenting, that were it to do again, upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends I should as readily engage in it as ever ; though I wish from my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished.

“ Nor have my sufferings in this cause been inconsiderable ; when I was a scholar in Oxford, and M. A. I was the first who publicly refused to subscribe the canons imposed by the late archbishop, for which I was expelled the convocation-house. When I came first to London, which was about twelve years ago, I was opposed by the bishop of London, and it was about three years before I could obtain

so much as a lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641, I was imprisoned in Newcastle, for preaching against the service-book, from whence I was removed hither by habeas corpus, and acquitted. In the beginning of the war between the late king and parliament, I was accused for preaching treason and rebellion, merely because I maintained, in a sermon, at Tenterden in Kent, the lawfulness of a defensive war. I was again complained of by the commissioners at Uxbridge for preaching a sermon, which I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to the first copy, I will own every line of it. After all this I have been three times in trouble since the late change of government. Once I was committed to custody, and twice cited before the committee for plundered ministers, but for want of proof was discharged. And now last of all, this great trial is come upon me; I have been kept several weeks in close prison, and am now arraigned for my life, and like to suffer from the hands of those for whom I have done and suffered so much, and who have lift up their hands with me in the same covenant; and yet I am not conscious of any personal act proved against me, that brings me within any of your laws as to treason.

“Upon the whole, though I never wrote nor sent letters into Scotland, yet I confess their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my judgment; and for the good of the nation; and though I disown the commission and instructions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have desired an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably to the covenant; for they having declared him to be their king, I have desired and prayed as a private man, that they might accomplish their ends upon such terms as were consistent with the safety of religion and the covenant.”

He concludes with beseeching the court, that he may not be put to death for state reasons. He owns he had been guilty of a concealment, and begs the mercy of the court for it, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He puts them in mind, that when Abiathar the priest had done an unjustifiable action, king Solomon said, he would not put him to death at that time, because he bore the ark of the Lord God before David his father; and because he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted.—“Thus (says he) I commit myself and my

all to God, and to your judgments and consciences, with the words of Jeremiah to the rulers of Israel, 'As for me, behold I am in your hands, do with me as seemeth good and meet to you; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves.' But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak."

The court allowed Mr. Love the benefit of council learned in the law, to argue some exceptions against the indictment; but after all that Mr. Hales could say for the prisoner, the court after six days' hearing, on the 5th of July, pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor.

Great intercessions* were made for the life of this reverend person, by the chief of the Presbyterian party in London; his wife presented several moving petitions; and two were presented from himself, in one of which he acknowledges the justice of his sentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his sentence may be changed into banishment; and that he might do something to deserve his life, he presented with his last petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almost all that had been objected to him at his trial.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a crisis, and king Charles II. having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike some terror into the Presbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr. Whitelocke says,† that colonel Fortescue was sent to general Cromwell with a petition on behalf of Mr. Love, but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair; bishop Kennet and Mr. Eehard say, the general sent word in a private letter to one of his confidants, that he was content that Mr. Love should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behaviour pardoned; but that the post-boy being stopped upon the road by some cavaliers belonging to the late king's army, they searched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. Love, they tore it with indignation, as

* Not only by his wife and friends, says Mr. Granger, but by several parishes in London, and by fifty four ministers. History of England, vol. 3. p. 43, 8vo.—Ed.
† Memoirs, p. 474.

thinking him not worthy to live, who had been such a fire-brand at the treaty of Uxbridge.* If this story be true, Mr. Love fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ascham had done before.

The mail arriving from Scotland, and no letter from Cromwell in behalf of Mr. Love, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-hill, August 22, the very day the king entered Worcester at the head of his Scots army. Mr. Love mounted the scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution, and taking off his hat two several times to the people, made a long speech, wherein he declares the satisfaction of his mind in the cause for which he suffered; and then adds, "I am for a regulated, mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed in my place the forces of the late king, because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the king to death, whose person I did promise in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, by cutting off the political head. I die with my judgment against the engagement; I pray God forgive them that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this present government; I die with my judgment against it. And lastly, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, that were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I bless God I have not the least trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quietness of mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will but hasten my happiness and their ruin; for though I am but of mean parentage, yet my blood is the blood of a Christian, of a minister, of an innocent man, and (I speak it without vanity) of a martyr.—I conclude with the speech of the apostle: 'I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand, but I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness—and not for me only, but for all them that love the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ,' through whose blood I expect salvation, and remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all."

* Compl. Hist. p. 202. Richard, p. 689.

After this he prayed with an audible voice for himself and his fellow-sufferer Mr. Gibbon, for the prosperity of England, for his covenanting brethren in Scotland, and for a happy union between the two nations, making no mention of the king. He then rose from his knees, and having taken leave of the ministers, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years.* Mr. Love was a zealous Presbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly esteemed by his brethren. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Manton, and published under the title of "The saints' triumph over death;" but his memory has suffered very much by lord Clarendon's character;† who represents him as guilty of as much "treason against the late king as the pulpit could contain; and delighting himself with the recital of it to the last, as dying with false courage, or (as he calls it) in a raving fit of satisfaction, for having pursued the ends of the sanctified obligation the covenant, without praying for the king, any farther than he propagated the covenant."

To return to more public affairs. After the battle of Dunbar, general Cromwell, through the inclemency of the weather, and his great fatigues, was seized with an ague which hung upon him all the spring, but as the summer advanced he recovered, and in the month of July marched his army towards the king's at Sterling; but not thinking it advisable to attempt his camp, he transported part of his forces over the frith into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thousand, and taking twelve hundred prisoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the king, he reduced Johnstown, and almost all the garrisons in the north."

While the general was employed in these parts, the Scots committee, that directed the marches of their army, fearing

* Mr. Love was born at Cardiff in Glamorganshire: became a servitor of New-Inn, Oxford, 1635, aged seventeen. In 1642 he proceeded master of arts. He was, at the beginning of his ministry, preacher to the garrison of Windsor, then under the command of colonel John Venn, and was called by the royalists Venn's principal fireman at Windsor. He was, afterward, successively minister of St. Ann's near Aldersgate, and St. Lawrence-Jewry, in London. He was the author of sermons and some pieces of practical divinity, which gained him a considerable reputation. He was buried with great lamentation on the north side of the chancel of St. Lawrence-Jewry. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 74; and Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 46, 8vo.—Ed.

† Vol. 3. p. 434.

the storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their army into England, and try the loyalty of the English Presbyterians; for this purpose colonel Massey was sent before into Lancashire, to prepare them for a revolt; and the king himself entered England by the way of Carlisle, August 6, at the head of sixteen thousand men; but when the committee of ministers that attended the army, observed that the king and his friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the covenant, they sent an express to Massey without the king's knowledge (says lord Clarendon*), requiring him to publish a declaration, to assure the people of their resolution to prosecute the ends of the covenant. The king had no sooner notice of this, but he sent to Massey, forbidding him to publish the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve him; "but before this inhibition (says his lordship), the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the whole kingdom, which made all men fly from the houses, or conceal themselves, who wished the king well." But his lordship is surely mistaken, for the king's chief hopes under Massey were from the Presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his majesty's declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all the spirit he could wish for; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aside, Massey's measures were broken, many of the Scots deserted and returned home; and not one in ten of the English would hazard his life in the quarrel.† Mr. Baxter,‡ who was a much better judge of the temper of the people than his lordship, says, "the English knew that the Scots coming into England was rather a flight than a march. They considered likewise, that the implacable cavaliers had made no preparation of the people's minds, by proposing any terms of a future reconciliation. That the prelatical divines were gone farther from the Presbyterians by Dr. Hammond's new way, than their predecessors; and that the cause they contended for being not concord but government, they had given the Presbyterian clergy and people no hopes of finding any abatement of their former burdens; and it is hard to persuade men to venture their lives in order to bring themselves into a prison or banishment." However, these were the true reasons, says Mr.

* Vol. 5. p. 400. 406. † Rapin, vol. 2. p. 535, folio. ‡ Life, p. 68.

Baxter, that no more came into the king at present; and had the Presbyterians observed them at the Restoration, they had made better terms for themselves than they did.

The parliament at Westminster were quickly advised of the king's march, and by way of precaution expelled all delinquents out of the city; they raised the militia; they mustered the trained-bands, to the number of fourteen thousand; and in a few weeks had got together an army of near sixty thousand brave soldiers. Mr. Echard* represents the parliament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to escape out of the land; whereas, in reality, the unhappy king was the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies. General Cromwell sent an express to the parliament, to have a watchful eye over the Presbyterians, who were in confederacy with the Scots, and told them, that the reason of his not interposing between the enemy and England was, because he was resolved to reduce Scotland effectually before winter. He desired the house to collect their forces together, and make the best stand they could till he could come up with the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account of them. At the same time he sent major-general Lambert with a strong body of horse to harass the king's forces, whilst himself with the body of the army, hastened after, leaving lieutenant-general Monk with a sufficient force to secure his conquests, and reduce the rest of the country, which he quickly accomplished. Bishop Burnet says,† there was an order and discipline among the English, and a face of gravity and piety, that amazed all people; most of them were Independents and Baptists, but all gifted men, and preached as they were moved, but never above once disturbed the public worship.

The earl of Derby was the only nobleman in England who raised one fifteen hundred men for the young king, who before, he could join the royal army, was defeated by colonel Lilburn, near Wigan in Lancashire, and his forces entirely dispersed. The earl being wounded retired into Cheshire, and from thence got to the king, who had marched his army as far as Worcester, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception; from thence his majesty sent letters to London, commanding all his subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to repair to his royal standard;

* P. 689.

† P. 80.

but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all such rebels, and burnt the king's summons by the hands of the common hangman. His majesty's affairs were now at a crisis. Lambert was in his rear with a great body of horse, and Cromwell followed with ten thousand foot, which, together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thousand men. The king, being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of Worcester, and encamped almost under the walls. September 3, Cromwell attacked Powick-bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the king's forces and occasioned a general battle, in which his majesty's army was entirely destroyed; four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken prisoners, with the king's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colours. Never was a greater rout and dispersion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cause. The account which the general gave to the parliament was, "that the battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part, and in the end became an absolute victory, the enemy's army being totally defeated, and the town in our possession, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets, took all their baggage and artillery. The dispute was long and very often at push of pike from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners, among whom are many officers and persons of quality. This, for aught I know, may be a crowning mercy." All possible diligence was used to seize the person of the king; it was declared high-treason to conceal him, and a reward of 1000*l.* was set upon his head; but Providence ordained his escape, for after he had travelled up and down the country six or seven weeks, under various disguises, in company with one or two confidants, and escaped a thousand dangers, he got a passage cross the channel at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy, October 21, the morning after he embarked; from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his mother maintained him out of her small pension* from the court of France.

* This must be understood only of the king's first arrival: for her pension was so small and so ill paid, that when cardinal de Retz visited her on a time, in the month of January, the princess Henrietta could not rise for want of a fire. When her son arrived, she had not money enough to buy him a change of linen for the next day.

The hopes of the royalists were now expiring, for the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with all the British plantations in America, were reduced this summer to the obedience of the parliament, insomuch that his majesty had neither fort nor castle nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of England was also under a total eclipse, the use of it being forbid not only in England, but even to the royal family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Louvre separated to that purpose; but after the battle of Worcester an order was sent from the queen regent to shut up the chapel, it being the king's pleasure not to permit the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic in any of his houses; nor could chancellor Hyde obtain more than a bare promise, that the queen of England would use her endeavours, that the Protestants of the family should have liberty to exercise their devotions in some private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the king's arrival in France he immediately threw off the mask of a Presbyterian, and never went once to the Protestant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the most respectful manner; but lord Clarendon dissuaded him, because the Hugonots had not been hearty in his interest, and because it might look disrespectful to the old church of England. In truth, there being no farther prospect of the king's restoration by the Presbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the Roman Catholics, and many of his majesty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legenda Ligneæ*, published about this time, with a list of fifty-three new converts, among whom were the following names in red capitals: the countess of Derby, lady Kilmichin, lord Cottington, sir Marm. Langdale, sir Fr. Doddington, sir Theoph. Gilby, captain Tho. Cook, Tho. Vane, D. D. De Cressy, prebendary of Windsor, Dr. Bayley, Dr. Cosins, junior, D. Goffe, and many others, not to mention the king himself, of whom father Huddleston his confessor writes in his treatise, entitled, "A short and plain way to the faith of the church," published 1685, that he put it into the king's hands in his retirement, and that when his

The French court was obliged to provide for his necessities, and settled on him a pension of six thousand livres per month. Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 134, 135. Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 441.—Ed.

majesty had read it, he declared he could not see how it could be answered.* Thus early, says a reverend prelate of the church of England, was the king's advance towards Popery, of which we shall meet with a fuller demonstration hereafter.†

General Monk, whom Cromwell left in Scotland with six thousand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was soon after united to the commonwealth of England, the deputies of the several counties consenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a king or house of lords.‡ The power of the kirk was likewise restrained within a narrow compass; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not seize their estates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be imposed but by direction from Westminster; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the ministers of the established kirk, so others not satisfied with their form of church-government had liberty to serve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their several persuasions. This occasioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loss of their covenant, and church-discipline; and exclaimed against the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and heresy; but the English supported their friends against all opposition.

The laird of Drum, being threatened with excommunication for speaking against the kirk, and for refusing to swear that its discipline was of divine authority, fled to the English for protection, and then wrote the assembly word, that their oppression was equal to that of the late bishops, but that the commonwealth of England would not permit them to enslave the consciences of men any longer. The presbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but Monk brandished his sword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the state, upon which they desisted for the present.§ Soon after this, commissioners chiefly of the Independent persuasion were sent into Scotland, to visit the universities, and to settle liberty of conscience in that kingdom, against the coercive claim of the kirk, by whose

* Clarendon, vol. 3. p. 444. † Kennet, p. 200. 210. Rapin, vol. 2. p. 586, folio.
‡ Whitelocke, p. 496. 503, 504. § Whitelocke, p. 500. 505. 515.

influence a declaration was presented to the assembly at Edinburgh, July 26, in favour of the congregational discipline, and for liberty of conscience; but the stubborn assembly-men, instead of yielding to the declaration, published a paper called a "Testimony against the present encroachments of the civil power upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction," occasioned by a proclamation of the English commissioners appointing a committee for visiting their universities, which they take to be a special flower of the kirk-prerogative. The synod of Fife also protested against the public resolutions of the civil power; but the sword of the English kept them in awe; for when the synod of Perth cited before them several persons for slighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. Whitelocke says,* that upon the day of appearance, their wives, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church where the synod sat; that they abused one of the ministers who was sent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the clerk and dispersed the assembly; upon which thirteen of the ministers met at a village about four miles distant, and having agreed that no more synods should be held in that place, they pronounced the village accursed. When the general assembly met again at Edinburgh next summer, and were just entering upon business, lieutenant-colonel Cotterel went into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, told them that no ecclesiastical judicatories were to sit there, but by authority of the parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the west gate of the city with a troop of horse and a company of foot; and having taken away the commissions from their several classes, enjoined them not to assemble any more above three in a company.

But with all these commotions, bishop Burnet observes,† that the country was kept in great order; the garrisons in the highlands observed an exact discipline, and were well paid, which brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the time of the usurpation in a flourishing condition; justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished; there was a great appearance of

* P. 511, 512.

† History, vol. 1. p. 84, Edin. edition.

devotion; the sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness; none might walk the streets in time of divine service, nor frequent public-houses; the evenings of the Lord's days were spent in catechising their children, singing psalms, and other acts of family devotion, insomuch that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increased prodigiously among the common people.

The war being now ended, the parliament published an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30, 1648, except pirates, Irish rebels, the murderers of Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ascham, and some others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before February 1, 1652. In the close of the year they chose a new council of state out of their own body for the next year, and continued themselves, instead of dissolving and giving way to a new parliament; the neglect of which was their ruin.

On the 26th of September lieutenant-general Ireton died at Limerick in Ireland, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a person of great integrity, bold and intrepid in all his enterprises, and never to be diverted from what he thought just and right by any arguments or persuasions. He was a thorough commonwealth's man. Bishop Burnet says, he had the principles and temper of a Cassius,* and was most liberal in employing his purse and hazarding his person in the service of the public. He died in the midst of life, of a burning fever,† after ten days' sickness. His

* History, vol. 1. p. 63, Edin. edition.

† Lord Clarendon ascribes the death of Ireton to the infection of the plague, which was gotten into his army. He was of Trinity-college in Oxford, and on leaving the university he studied at the Middle-Temple. He and Lambert distinguished themselves at the battle of Naseby, and were both concerned in drawing up the remonstrance of the army to the parliament. Ireton had the greatest hand in preparing the ordinance for the king's trial, and the precept for proclaiming the high court of justice, in which he sat as a judge. His authority was so great, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil as well as martial affairs: though his parts were considered by some as more fitted for modelling a government, than for the conduct of an army. The Oxford historian describes him as of a turbulent and saucy disposition, nurtured in mischief, and a profound thorough-paced dissembler under the mask of religion. His corpse was carried from the ship, in which it was brought to Bristol, in a hearse of velvet, attended by the mayor, aldermen, and council, in their formalities, and the governor and officers, to the castle: from whence it was removed to London with great pomp. The parliament settled on his widow and children 2000*l.* per ann. out of the lands belonging to George, duke of Bucks. His daughter, who married Thomas Beadish, esq. of Gray's-Inn, was a most singular character, and bore a greater resemblance, in countenance and dispositions, to her grandfather, Oliver Cromwell, than did any of his descendants. A curious sketch of her character, drawn by the Rev. Samuel

body being brought over into England was laid in state at Somerset-house, and buried in Westminster-abbey with a pomp and magnificence suited to the dignity of his station; but after the Restoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with Cromwell's, and buried under the gallows.

About the same time died Mr. Francis Woodcock, born in Chester 1613, and educated in Brazen-nose-college, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him.* In the beginning of the civil wars he sided with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines, being then lecturer of St. Lawrence-Jewry. He was afterward, by ordinance of parliament dated July 10, 1646, made parson of St. Olave's, Southwark; having the esteem of being a good scholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midst of his days and usefulness, *ætatis* thirty-eight.

Mr. George Walker proceeded B. D. in St. John's college, Cambridge. He was famous for his skill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent logician and theologist; being very much noted for his disputations with the Jesuit Fisher, and others of the Romish church; and afterward for his strict Sabbatarian principles. He was a member of the assembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Mr. Thomas Wilson was born in Cumberland 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He was first minister of Capel in Surrey, and after several other removes fixed at Maidstone in Kent, where he was suspended for refusing to read the book of sports, and not absolved till the Scots troubles in 1639. In 1643, he was appointed one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, being reputed a good linguist, and well read in ancient and modern authors. He was of a robust constitution, and took vast pains in preaching and catechising; he had great deal of natural courage, and was in every respect a cheerful and active Christian, but he trespassed too

Say, is preserved in the second volume of "Letters" published by Mr. Duncombe. Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 141, &c. Lord Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 467. Wood's Athen. Oxon, p. 81, 82. Whitelocke's Mem. p. 491. 494; and Granger's History, vol. 2. p. 259, and vol. 3. p. 16, 17.—ED.

* Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 81, 82.

much upon his constitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and cheerfully towards the end of the year 1651. Sir Edward Deering gave him this character in the house of commons; "Mr. Wilson is as orthodox in doctrine, and laborious in preaching, as any we have, and of an unblemished life."

The terms of conformity in England were now lower than they had been since the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aside, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the engagement, so that many episcopal divines complied with the government; for though they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near it as they pleased. Many episcopal assemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the government; nor would they have been denied in open toleration, if they would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddling with politics.

The parliament having voted, in the year 1649, that tithes should be taken away as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, several petitions came out of the country, praying the house to bring this affair to an issue: one advised, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treasury, and that the ministers might be paid their salaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would have the livings valued, and the parish engaged to pay the minister. This was suspected to come from the sectaries, and awakened the fears of the established clergy. Mr. Baxter printed the Worcester petition on the behalf of the ministers,* which was presented to the house by colonel Bridges and Mr. Foley; and Mr. Boreman, B. D. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge, published "The countryman's catechism, or the church's plea for tithes," dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons, of the realm; in which he insists upon their divine right. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. Selden, that tithes were abolished with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to satisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropped for the present.

* Baxter's Life, p. 115.

Upon complaint of the expense and tediousness of law suits, it was moved in the house, that courts of justice might be settled in every county, and maintained at the public charge; and that all controversies between man and man might be heard and determined free, according to the laws of the land; and that clerks of all courts and committees might do their duty without delay, or taking any thing more than their settled fees. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to consider of the inconveniences and delays of lawsuits, and how they might be remedied. The committee came to several resolutions upon this head; but the dissolution of the parliament, which happened the next year, prevented their bringing it to perfection.

An act had passed in the year 1649, for propagating the gospel in Wales; and commissioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which, Mr. Whitelocke writes,* "that by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market-town there was placed one, and in most great towns two schoolmasters, able, learned, and university men; that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament; that is, to the maintenance of godly ministers; to the payment of taxes and officers; to schoolmasters; and the fifts to the wives and children of the ejected clergy:" of which we shall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flourishing a condition, says Mr. Rapin,† as under queen Elizabeth. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without consent of the people, the majority of whom were disaffected, preferring a mixed monarchy to an absolute commonwealth; but the administration was in the hands of the ablest men England had beheld for many years; all their enemies were in a manner subdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth: but still there were two things that gave them uneasiness; one was, the growing power of the army, who were now at leisure, and expected rewards suitable to their successes: the other, the necessity they were under to dis-

* Memoirs, p. 518.

† Vol. 2. p. 586, folio edition.

solve themselves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

With regard to the army, it was resolved to reduce the land-forces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to secure the nation against the Dutch; for the parliament having a desire to strengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of Holland, sent over Oliver St. John, and sir Walter Strickland, with proposals for this purpose; but the Dutch treated them with neglect,* as their younger sister, which the parliament resenting, demanded satisfaction for the damages the English had sustained at Amboyna, and other parts of the East-Indies; and to cramp them in their trade, passed the famous act of navigation, prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but English bottoms; or such as were of the country from whence they came. Upon this the Dutch sent over ambassadors, desiring a clause of exception for themselves, who were the carriers of Europe; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. Dorislaus. Both commonwealths being dissatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and Van Trump the Dutch admiral, with a convoy of merchant-men, meeting admiral Blake in the channel, and refusing him the flag, an engagement ensued May 17, which continued four hours till the night parted them. The Dutch excused the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was so enraged, that they resolved to humble them. In these circumstances it was thought reasonable to augment the fleet out of the land-forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burden to the nation.

Cromwell, who was at the head of the army, quickly discovered that the continuance of the war must be his ruin, by disarming him of his power, and reducing him from a

* Dr. Grey, evidently with a view to controvert Mr. Neal's representation, as well as from prejudice against these ambassadors and the power from whom they received their commission, says, "the states of Holland treated them with much more regard and civility than was due to them:" and gives, as proofs of this, two of their own letters, in his Appendix, no. 50 and 51. But all which these letters prove is, that the first reception given to these gentlemen was both respectful and pompous. Mr. Neal is to be understood of the attention paid to their proposals: with respect to which the conduct of the Dutch was cold and evasive. And even the persons of the ambassadors did not escape insults, which the States did not properly resent. Mr. Strickland's life was threatened. A plot was formed to assassinate Mr. St. John: and an affront was offered to him by prince Edward, one of the palatinate, as he was passing the streets. Mrs. Macaulay's History, vol. 5. p. 83, 84, note; and Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. 1771. p. 148.—Ed.

great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Besides, Mr. Rapin observes, that he had secret information of a conspiracy against his life ; and without all question, if the army had not agreed to stand by their general, his ruin had been unavoidable ; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not suffer their men to be disbanded or sent to sea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid ; for this purpose they presented a petition to the house, which they resented, and instead of giving them soft language, and encouragement to hope for some suitable rewards for their past services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for presuming to meddle in affairs of state that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as resolute as their masters, instead of submitting, presented another petition, in which, having justified their behaviour, they boldly strike at the parliament's continuance, and put them in mind how many years they had sat ; that they had engrossed all preferments and places of profit to themselves and their friends ; that it was a manifest injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the service of their country, and an invasion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent choosing new representatives ; they therefore insist upon their settling a new council of state for the administration of public affairs ; and upon their fixing a peremptory day for the choice of a new parliament.

This was a new and delicate crisis ; the civil and military powers being engaged against each other, and resolved to maintain their respective pretensions : if Cromwell, with the sword in his hand, had secured the election of a free representative of the people, and left the settlement of the nation to them, all men would have honoured and blessed him, for the people were certainly weary of the parliament. But when the officers had destroyed this form of government, they were not agreed what to establish, whether a monarchy, or a new republic ; the general, being for a mixed monarchy, had, no doubt, some ambitious views to himself, and therefore called together some select friends of several professions to advise on the affair, when sir Thomas Widdrington, lord-chief-justice St. John, and the rest of the lawyers, declared for monarchy, as most agreeable to the old constitution, and proposed the duke of Gloucester

for king; but the officers of the army then present declared for a republic. Cromwell himself, after much hesitation, gave his opinion for something of a monarchical power, as most agreeable to the genius of the English, if it might be accomplished with safety to their rights and privileges as Englishmen and Christians.

Some time after Cromwell desired Mr. Whitelocke's opinion upon the present situation of affairs: "My lord (says he), it is time to consider of our present danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particular quarrels after we have gained an entire conquest over the enemy." Whitelocke replied, "that all their danger was from the army, who were men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." Cromwell answered, "that the officers thought themselves not rewarded according to their deserts; that the parliament had engrossed all places of honour and trust among themselves; that they delayed the public business, and designed to perpetuate themselves; that the officers thought it impossible to keep them within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, unless there was some authority or power to which they might be accountable." Whitelocke said, he believed the parliament were honest men, and designed the public good, though some particular persons might be to blame, but that it was absurd for the officers who were private men, and had received their commissions from the parliament, to pretend to control them." "But (says Cromwell) what if a man should take upon him to be king?" Whitelocke answered, "that the remedy was worse than the disease; and that the general had already all the power of a king without the envy, danger, and pomp, of the title." "But (says he) the title of king would make all acts done by him legal; it would indemnify those that should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to curb the insolence of those whom the present powers could not control." Whitelocke agreed to the general's reasons, but desired him to consider, "whether the title of king would not lose him his best friends in the army, as well as those gentlemen who were for settling a free commonwealth; but if we must have a king (says he), the question will be, whether it shall be Cromwell or Stuart?"* The general asking his opinion upon this, Whitelocke proposed a

* Whitelocke, p. 525, &c.

private treaty with the king of the Scots, with whom he might make his own terms, and raise his family to what pitch of greatness he pleased; but Cromwell was so apprehensive of the danger of this proposal, that he broke off the conversation with some marks of dissatisfaction, and never made use of Whitelocke with confidence afterward.

Thus things remained* throughout the whole winter; the army having little to do after the battle of Worcester drew near to London, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; one would not disband without their full pay; nor the other dissolve by the direction of their own servants, but voted the expedience of filling up their numbers, and that it should be high-treason to petition for their dissolution. When the general heard this, he called a council of officers to Whitehall, who all agreed that it was not fit the parliament should continue any longer. This was published in hopes of frightening the house to make some advances towards a dissolution; but when colonel Ingoldsby informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the session for another year, he rose up in a heat, and with a small retinue of officers and soldiers marched to the parliament-house April 20, and having placed his men without doors, went into the house, and heard the debates. After some time he beckoned to colonel Harrison, on the other side of the house, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for dissolution, and that this was the time for doing it. Harrison replied, that the work was dangerous, and desired him to think better of it. Upon this he sat down about a quarter of an hour, and then said, This is the time, I must do it; and rising up in his place, he told the house, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made so ill a use; that some of them were whoremasters, looking towards Harry Martin

* Here may be inserted, from Whitelocke, two anecdotes, which afford a pleasing specimen of the temper of the Quakers under ill-treatment. February 3, 1653, they were assaulted and beaten by some people in the north. February 13, 1654, a similar outrage was offered to others of them, at Haslington in Northumberland, for speaking to the ministers on the sabbath-day: so that one or two of them were almost killed. The Quakers fell on their knees and prayed to God to forgive the people, as those who knew not what they did; and remonstrated with them so as to convince them of the evil of their conduct, on which they ceased from their violence, and began to reproach each other with being the occasions of it: and, in the last instance, beat one another more than they had before the Quakers. *Memorials*, p. 564, 599.—Ed.

and sir Peter Wentworth; others were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, who had not at heart the public good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had sat long enough, and therefore desired them to retire and go away. When some of the members began to reply, he stepped into the middle of the house, and said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament; I say you are no parliament;" and stamping with his foot, a file of musketeers entered the house; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And major Harrison taking the speaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. Cromwell then seizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the house; and having caused the doors to be locked upon them, returned to Whitehall.

In the afternoon the general went to the council of state, attended by major-general Lambert and Harrison, and as he entered the room, said, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done in the morning, so take notice the parliament is dissolved." Serjeant Bradshaw replied, "Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, but you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved, for no power can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wisest way to rise up and go home.

Thus ended the commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which, though no better than a usurpation, had raised the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long-parliament for the present; an assembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes.*

* Mrs. Macaulay, after quoting the high eulogiums made on the government of this parliament, adds, "It is to be remembered, that to them is due the singular praise of having pursued the true interest of their country in attending particularly to its maritime strength, and carrying on its foreign wars by its naval power. This example, which raised England to so great a height of glory and prosperity, has never yet been followed, and in all probability never will, by the succeeding monarchs. The aim of princes is to make conquests on their subjects; not to enlarge the empire of a free people. A standing army is a never-failing instrument of domestic triumph; and it is

"the acts of this parliament (says Mr. Coke*) will hardly find belief in future ages; and to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour or importunity: you hardly ever heard of any revolt from them; no soldiers or seamen being ever pressed. And as they excelled in civil affairs, so it must be confessed, they exercised in matters ecclesiastical no such severities as others before them did upon such as dissented from them."

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed assembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a vote to put the late king to death—they subverted the constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their sessions after his majesty's demise—by erecting high courts of justice of their own nomination for capital offences—by raising taxes, and doing all other acts of sovereignty without consent of the people; all which they designed to perpetuate among themselves, without being accountable to any superior, or giving place to a new body of representatives. If then it be inquired, what right or authority general Cromwell and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. The right of self-preservation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every Englishman has to put an end to a usurpation when it is in his power, provided he can substitute something better in its room; and if Cromwell could by this method have restored the constitution, and referred the settlement of the government to a free and full representative of the people, no wise man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not summoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people; and yet Mr. Rapin† is of opinion, that even this was impracticable, there being three opposite interests in the nation; the republicans, who were for an absolute commonwealth; the Presbyterians, who were for restoring things to the condition they were in in 1648; and the ca-

very doubtful, whether a naval force could be rendered useful in any capacity but that of extending the power and prosperity of the country." *Hist. of England*, vol. 5, p. 106, note, 8vo.—En.

* Detect. p. 363.

† Vol. 2. p. 289, folio edition.

valiers, who were for setting the king upon the throne, as before the civil wars ; it was by no means possible (says he*) to reconcile the three parties, and if they had been let loose they would have destroyed each other, and thrown the whole nation into blood and confusion ; nothing therefore but giving a forcible superiority to one, was capable to hold the other two in subjection. The king was no way interested in the change, for it was not Charles Stuart, but a republican usurpation, that was dispossessed of the supreme power. If the general had failed in his design, and lost his life in the attempt, the king would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means disposed to restore him at this time. Supposing then it was not practicable to choose a free parliament, nor fit to let the old one perpetuate themselves, Oliver Cromwell had no other choice, but to abandon the state, or to take the administration upon himself ; or put it into the hands of some other person who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the public good in the choice, must be left to the judgment of every reader ; but if it was necessary that there should be a supreme authority, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that general Cromwell was more capable of governing the state in such a storm, than any man then living. No objection can be raised against him, which might not with more justice have been urged against any other single person, or body of men in the nation, except the right heir. However, all the three parties, of cavaliers, Presbyterians, and republicans, were displeased with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed conspiracies against his person, though they could never agree in any other scheme, which in the present crisis was more practicable.

The parliament being thus violently dispersed, the sovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which Cromwell was head, who published a declaration, justifying his dissolution of the late parliament, and promising to put the administration into the hands of persons, of approved fidelity and honesty, and leave them to form it into what shape they pleased. Accordingly, April 30, another declaration was published, signed by Oliver Cromwell, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of state to

* Rapin, p. 149.

take care of the government, till a new representative body of men could be called together; and June 8, the general, by the advice of his council, sent the following summons to one hundred and forty select persons, out of the several counties of England, to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the nation: "I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general, &c. do hereby summons and require you — being one of the persons nominated by myself, with the advice of my council, personally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth of July next ensuing the date hereof, to take upon you the trust of the affairs of the commonwealth; to which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for the county of —; and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand this eighth of June 1653.
O. CROMWELL."

These were high acts of sovereignty, and not to be justified but upon the supposition of extreme necessity. The dissolution of the long-parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as appeared by the numerous addresses from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct, and promising to stand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himself, and thirty officers, to choose representatives for the whole nation, without interesting any of the counties or corporations of England in the choice, would have deserved the highest censure under any other circumstances.

About one hundred and twenty of the new representatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the general, after a short speech, delivered them an instrument in parchment under his hand and seal, resigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to November 3, 1654, and empowering them, three months before their dissolution, to make choice of others to succeed them for a year, and they to provide for a future succession. It was much wondered, says Whitelocke,* that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and estate,† should accept of the supreme autho-

* Memoirs, p. 534.

† Dr. Grey, after lord Clarendon and others, and Mr. Hume since them, have spoken in severe and contemptuous terms of this assembly and their proceedings. "The major part of them (says his lordship) consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest name, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching." But many of Cromwell's after-counsellors, many of the chief officers

city of the nation, upon such a summons, and from such hands. Most of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called sometimes the little parliament; and by others, Barebone's parliament, from a leather-seller of that name,* who was one of the most active members. When the general was withdrawn, they chose Mr. Rouse, an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for Truro in Cornwall, their speaker, and then voted themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. Mr. Baxter† places them in a contemptible light, and says, "they intended to eject all the parish-ministers, and to encourage the gathering Independent churches; that they cast out all the ministers in Wales, which, though bad enough for the most part, were yet better than none, or the few itinerants they set up in their room; and that they attempted, and had almost accomplished, the same in England." But nothing of this appears among their acts. When the city of London petitioned, that more learned and approved ministers might be sent into the coun-

of the army, were in this assembly. They were treated as the supreme authority of the nation by sovereign princes, and had the most humble applications made to them by the chief cavaliers, as by the earls of Worcester, Derby, and Shrewsbury, lord Mansfield and the countess of Derby: and they were, during their short session, employed about points of the highest national concernment; such as, abolishing the court of chancery on account of its expensiveness and delays, the forming a new body of the law, the union of Scotland with England, the regulation of marriages, and the investing the solemnization and cognizance of them in the civil magistrate, with other matters of moment. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 335—337.—Ed.

* There were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his name, viz. "Praise God, Barebone; Christ came into the world to save Barebone; and, if Christ had not died thou hadst been damned, Barebone." In this style were the Christian names of very many persons formed in the times of the civil wars. It was said, that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in Cromwell's regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of Matthew. A jury was returned in the county of Sussex of the following names:

<i>Accepted</i> , Trevor of Norsham.	<i>Return</i> , Spelman of Watling.
<i>Redeemed</i> , Compton of Battle.	<i>Be Faithful</i> , Joyner of Britling.
<i>Faint not</i> , Hewet of Heathfield.	<i>Fly Debate</i> , Robert of ditto.
<i>Make-peace</i> , Heuton of Hare.	<i>Fight the good Fight of Faith</i> , White of Emer.
<i>God-reward</i> , Smart of Fivehurst.	<i>More Fruit</i> , Fowler of East-Hadley.
<i>Stand fast on High</i> , Stringer of Crowhurst.	<i>Hope for</i> , Bending of ditto.
<i>Earth</i> , Adams of Warbleton.	<i>Graceful</i> , Harding of Lewes.
<i>Called</i> , Lower of ditto.	<i>Weep not</i> , Billings, ditto.
<i>Kill Sin</i> , Pimple of Witham.	<i>Meek</i> , Brewer of Okeham.

Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 68, 8vo. note; and Dr. Grey, p. 286, 287, note. Mr. Hume has also given this list of the Sussex jury. But the ridicule, which falls on this mode of naming children, belongs not to these times only: for the practice was in use long before. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 342, the note.—Ed.

† P. 70. 180.

try to preach the gospel ; that their settled maintenance by law might be confirmed ; and their just properties preserved ; and that the universities might be zealously countenanced and encouraged ; the petitioners had the thanks of that house ; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commissioners should be sent into the several counties, who should have power to eject scandalous and insufficient ministers, and to settle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worship. That such as were approved for public ministers should enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws ; and that if any scrupled the payment of tithes, the neighbouring justices of peace should settle the value, which the owner of the land should be obliged to pay ; but as for the tithes themselves they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropiators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were satisfied.

July 23, it was referred to a committee, to consider of a repeal of such laws as hindered the progress of the gospel ; that is (says bishop Kennet), to take away the few remaining rules of decency and order ; or, in other language, the penal laws. This was done at the instance of the Independents, who petitioned for protection against the presbyteries ; upon which it was voted, that a declaration should be published, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God ; and for preventing their imposing hardships on one another.

Mr. Echard, and others of his principles, write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English laws, as badges of the Norman conquest, and substituting the Mosaic laws of government in their place ; and that all schools of learning, and titles of honour, should be extinguished, as not agreeing with the Christian simplicity. But no such proposals were made to the house, and therefore it is unjust to lay them to their charge.

The solemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engrossed by the clergy ; but this convention considered it a civil contract, and put it into the hands of justices of peace, by an ordinance, which enacts, “ that after the 29th of September, 1653, all persons who shall agree to be married within the commonwealth of England, shall deliver in their names and *places of abode*, with the names of their parents, guardians,

and overseers, to the registrar of the parish where each party lives, who shall publish the banns in the church or chapel three several Lord's days, after the morning service; or else in the market-place three several weeks successively, between the hours of eleven and two, on a market-day if the party desire it. The registrar shall make out a certificate of the due performance of one or the other, at the request of the parties concerned, without which they shall not proceed to marriage.

"It is farther enacted, that all persons intending to marry shall come before some justice of peace within the county, city, or town corporate, where publication has been made, as aforesaid, with their certificate, and with sufficient proof of the consent of the parents, if either party be under age, and then the marriage shall proceed in this manner:

"The man to be married shall take the woman by the hand, and distinctly pronounce these words, I A. B. do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee C. D. for my wedded wife; and do also, in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving and faithful husband.

"Then the woman taking the man by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words, I C. D. do here in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee A. B. for my wedded husband; and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife."

"After this, the justice may and shall declare the said man and woman to be from henceforth husband and wife; and from and after such consent so expressed, and such declaration made of the same (as to the form of marriage), it shall be good and effectual in law; and no other marriage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after the 29th of September 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage, according to the law of England."

This ordinance was confirmed by the protector's parliament in the year 1656, except the clause, "that no other marriage whatsoever within the commonwealth of England shall be held or accounted a legal marriage;" and it was wisely done of the parliament at the Restoration, to confirm these marriages, in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious lawsuits in future times. But the acts of this con-

vention were of little significance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the several parties too stubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wisely resigned, and surrendered back their sovereignty into the same hands that gave it them, after they had sat five months and twelve days.

The general and his officers finding themselves reinvested with the supreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to strike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large instrument of forty-two articles, entitled, "The government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." It appoints the government to be in a single person;—that the single person be the general Oliver Cromwell, whose style and title should be his highness, lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging—that the lord-protector should have a council, consisting of no more than twenty-one persons, nor less than thirteen, to assist him in the administration. A parliament was to be chosen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longest, and not to be dissolved without their consent in less than five months. It was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales; thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; whereof sixty were to make a house. The counties of England and Wales were to choose two hundred and thirty-nine; the other elections to be distributed among the chief cities and market-towns, without regard to ancient custom. The county of Dorset was to choose eleven members; Cornwall eight; Bedfordshire five; the several ridings of Yorkshire fourteen; Middlesex four; the city of London six; Westminster two; the whole number of cities and boroughs which had privilege of election were one hundred and ten, and the number of representatives to be chosen by them one hundred and sixty—If the protector refused to issue out writs, the commissioners of the great seal, or the high sheriff of the county, was to do it under pain of treason—none to have votes but such as were worth 200*l*. This regulation, being wisely proportioned, met with universal approbation. Lord Clarendon says, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time—all the great officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, &c. if they became

vacant in time of parliament, to be supplied with their approbation; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—such bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not signed in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this instrument.—In the present crisis, the protector and his council might publish ordinances which should have force till the first sessions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honour, to pardon all crimes except treason and murder; the militia was intrusted with him and his council, except during the sessions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In short, the protector had almost all the royalties of a king—but then the protectorship was to be elective, and no protector after the present to be general of the army.

The articles relating to religion were these:

Art. 35. "That the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations, and that as soon as may be, a provision less subject to contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continue.

Art. 36. "That none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation.

Art. 37. "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or prelacy, or to such as under a profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness.

Art. 38. "That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses, in any law, statute, or ordinance, to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."

The protector was installed with great magnificence; De-

ember 16, 1653, in the court of chancery, by order of the council of officers, in presence of the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, the judges, the commissioners of the great seal, and other great officers, who were summoned to attend on this occasion. Oliver Cromwell, standing uncovered on the left hand of a chair of state set for him, first subscribed the instrument of government in the face of the court, and then took the following oath :

“ Whereas the major part of the last parliament (judging that their sitting any longer as then constituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth) did dissolve the same ; and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th of this instant December, resigned to me their powers and authorities. And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the settlement of these nations upon such a basis and foundation, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure property, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty so long contended for ; and upon full and mature consideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine assistance, may answer the ends afore-mentioned. And having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of these nations in the manner expressed in the said form of government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly ; and do promise, in the presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but to my power observe the same, and cause them to be observed ; and shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered.”

After this he sat down in the chair of state covered, and the commissioners delivered him the great seal, and the lord-mayor his sword and cap of maintenance ; which he returned in a very obliging manner. The ceremony being over, the soldiers, with a shout, cried out, “ God bless the lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” In their return to Whitehall the lord-mayor carried

the sword before his highness uncovered, and presently after he was proclaimed in the city of London, and throughout all the British dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by surprising management, supported only by the sword, advance himself to the supreme government of three kingdoms without consent of parliament or people. His birth seemed to promise nothing of this kind; nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after the battle of Worcester, when he apprehended the parliament had projected his ruin by disbanding the army, and perpetuating their authority among themselves: which of the two usurpations was most eligible must be left with the reader; but how he brought the officers into his measures, and supported his sovereignty by an army of enthusiasts, Anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all posterity; and though by this adventurous act he drew upon himself the plots and conspiracies of the several factions in the nation, yet his genius and resolution surmounted all difficulties, his short empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the British isles, and of terror to the rest of Europe.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new instrument of government, and will necessarily observe, that it was a creature of Cromwell's and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper representative of the people. How far the present circumstances of the nation made this necessary, must be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of government; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they disgusted all that part of the clergy who were for church-power; the Presbyterians preached and wrote against the 36th and 37th articles, as inconsistent with their establishment, and sinking it almost to a level with their sectaries. The republicans were dissatisfied because the engagement, by which they had sworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords, was set aside. Bishop Kennet is angry with the protector's latitude, because there was no test or barrier to the establishment. "How little religion was the concern, or so much as any longer the pretence of Cromwell and his officers (says his lordship), appears from hence, that in the large instrument of the government of the commonwealth, which was the magna charta

of the new constitution, there is not a word of churches or ministers, nor any thing but the Christian religion in general, with liberty to all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth." Strange, that this should displease a Christian bishop! But his lordship should have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kinds of immoralities, nor to such as injured the civil rights of others, nor to such as disturbed the public peace. And do the Scriptures authorize us to go farther? The sixth article provides, "that the laws in being relating to the Presbyterian religion were not to be suspended, altered, abrogated, or repealed; nor any new law made, but by consent of parliament." The 36th adds, "that until a better provision can be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, the present maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached." And triers were appointed soon after for preventing scandalous and unlearned persons invading the pulpit. This part of the instrument is, in my opinion, so far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble spirit of Christian liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting Popery, prelacy, and licentiousness of manners, upon a level. The open toleration of Popery is hardly consistent with the safety of a Protestant government; otherwise, considered merely as a religious institution, I see not why it should be crushed by the civil power: and licentiousness of manners is not to be indulged in any civilized nation; but if the Episcopalians would have given security for their living peaceably under their new masters, they ought undoubtedly to have been protected; however, the protector did not in every instance adhere strictly to the instrument.

But though in point of policy the Episcopalians were at this time excepted from a legal toleration, their assemblies were connived at; and several of their clergy indulged the public exercise of their ministry without the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, or engagements; as Dr. Hall, afterward bishop of Chester, Dr. Wild, Pearson, Ball, Hardy, Griffith, Farrington, and others. Several of the bishops, who had been kept from public service by the covenant and engagement, preached again publicly in the city, as archbishop Usher, bishop Brownrigge, and others. Mr. Baxter, who was very far from being a friend of the protector's, says,

"that all men were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties under his government—that he removed the terrors and prejudices which hindered the success of the gospel, especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin. It is well known that the Presbyterians did not approve of the usurpation, but when they saw that Cromwell's design was to do good in the main, and encourage religion as far as his cause would admit, they acquiesced." And then comparing these times with those after the Restoration, he adds, "I shall for the future think that land happy, where the people have but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace, I shall not hereafter much fear such a toleration, nor despair that truth will bear down its adversaries."* This was a considerable testimony to the protector's administration from the pen of an adversary.

The protector's first council were, major-general Lambert, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Montague, afterward earl of Sandwich; Philip lord viscount Lisle, since earl of Leicester; colonel Desborough, sir Gilbert Pickering, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward earl of Shaftsbury; sir Charles Woolsley, major-general Skippon, Mr. Strickland, colonel Sydenham, colonel Jones, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Major: men of great name in those times; some of whom made a considerable figure after the Restoration. The protector's wise conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied endeavours to make all religious parties easy. He indulged the army in their enthusiastic raptures, and sometimes joined in their prayers and sermons. He countenanced the Presbyterians, by assuring them he would maintain the public ministry, and give them all due encouragement. He supported the Independents, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to considerable livings in the church and universities; and by joining them in one commission with the Presbyterians as triers of all such as desired to be admitted to benefices. But he absolutely forbade the clergy of every denomination dealing in

* *Life*, p. 86, 87.

politics, as not belonging to their profession ; and when he perceived the managing Presbyterians took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them ; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself.

It was happy for the wise and moderate Presbyterians, that the protector disarmed their discipline of its coercive power, for he still left them all that was sufficient for the purposes of religion ; they had their monthly or quarterly classical presbyteries in every county, for the ordination of ministers, by imposition of hands, according to the Directory, to whom they gave certificates, or testimonials, in the following words :

“ We the ministers of the presbytery of ———, having examined Mr. ——— according to the tenor of the ordinance for that purpose, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy office and employment (no just exception having been made to his ordination), have approved him, and accordingly, on the day and year hereafter expressed, have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a preaching presbyter, and work of the ministry, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands ; and do hereby actually admit him (as far as concerns us) to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this ——— day of September 1653.”

Other testimonials were in this form :

“ We the ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over this part of his flock in the city of ———, with the assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the service of the church in its necessity, having received credible testimonials, under the hands of divers ministers of the gospel, and others, of the sober, righteous, and godly conversation of ———, as also concerning his gifts for the ministry, have proceeded to make farther trial of his fitness for so great a work ; and being in some good measure satisfied concerning his piety and ability, have upon the day of ——— 1653, proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a presbyter, and work of the ministry, by laying on our hands with fasting and prayer ; by virtue whereof we do esteem and declare him a lawful minister of Christ, and hereby

recommend him to the church of —. In witness whereof we have set our hands, &c.”

When the Presbyterians found that their classes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on those who refused to submit to their discipline, the ministers of the several denominations in the country began to enter into friendly associations for brotherly counsel and advice. Mr. Baxter, and his brethren of Worcestershire, formed a scheme upon such general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the reverend Mr. Vines and Gataker; and when he had drawn up articles of concord, he submitted them to the correction of archbishop Usher, and other episcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more discipline should be practised than the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent divines agreed in; that they should not meddle with politics or affairs of civil government in their assemblies, nor pretend to exercise the power of the keys, or any church-censures; but only to assist, advise, and encourage, each other in propagating truth and holiness, and in keeping their churches from profane and scandalous communicants.* Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in some market-town, where there was a sermon in the morning; and after dinner the conversation was upon such points of doctrine or discipline as required advice; or else an hour was spent in disputing upon some theological question which had been appointed the preceding month. Doctor Warmestry, afterward dean of Worcester, and Dr. Good, one of the prebendaries of Hereford, sent Mr. Baxter a letter dated September 20, 1653, wherein they testify their approbation of the association above mentioned, and of the articles of concord.†

In the west of England, Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, and Mr. Good of Exeter, prevailed with the ministers of the several persuasions in those parts, to follow the example of Worcestershire; accordingly they parcelled themselves into four divisions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year: the reverend Mr. Hughes presided in those of 1655 and 1656. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and several of the episcopal divines of the best character, as well as Independents, joined with them; “the chief of the Presbyterian and Independent di-

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 117, &c. p. 167, &c.

† Ibid. p. 149.

vines, who were weary of divisions, and willing to strengthen each other's hands, united in these assemblies, though the exasperated prelatists, the more rigid Presbyterians, and severer sort of Independents, kept at a distance : but many remarkable advantages (says Mr. Baxter) attended these associations ;" they opened and preserved a friendly correspondence among the ministers ; they removed a great many prejudices and misunderstandings, insomuch that the controversies and heats of angry men began to be allayed, their spirit bettered, and the ends of religion more generally promoted.

But these country associations were not countenanced by the more zealous Presbyterians of London, who met weekly at Sion-college ; they could hardly digest a toleration of the sectaries, much less submit to a coalition, but resolved to keep close to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts of their provincial assembly : they wanted the sword of discipline, and were impatient under the present restraint ; and nothing but the piercing eye of the protector, whose spies were in every corner, kept them from preaching, praying, and plotting, against the government. However, the country ministers being easy in their possessions, cultivated good neighbourhood, and spread the associations through Wiltshire, Essex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and other parts ; that if I am not misinformed, there are the like brotherly associations among the dissenters in several counties to this day.

This year died old Dr. William Gouge, born at Stratford-le-Bow in the year 1575, and educated at King's-college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders 1607, and the very next year was settled at Blackfriars, London, where he continued to his death. He commenced doctor of divinity in the year 1628, about which time he became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the star-chamber. In the year 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, and was in such reputation, that he often filled the moderator's chair in his absence. He was a modest, humble, and affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, a universal scholar, and a most constant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was esteemed the father of the London

ministers, and died comfortably and piously December 12, 1653, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been minister of Blackfriars almost forty-six years.

Doctor Thomas Hill, of whom mention has been made before, was born in Worcestershire, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young scholars for many years. He was afterward preferred to the living of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, and was chosen into the assembly of divines for that county. While he was at London he preached every day at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and was one of the morning lecturers at Westminster-abbey. He was afterward chosen to be master of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and from thence removed to Trinity-college; in which stations he behaved with great prudence and circumspection. He was a good scholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the university; a strict Calvinist, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of a holy and unblamable conversation. He died of a quartan ague December 18, 1653, in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.*

CHAP. III.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PROTECTORSHIP OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO HIS DEATH.

IF the reader will carefully review the divided state of the nation at this time, the strength of the several parties in opposite interests, and almost equal in power, each sanguine for his own scheme of settlement, and all conspiring against the present, he will be surprised that any wise man should be prevailed with to put himself at the head of such a distracted body; and yet more, that such a genius should

* He spent nine years at King's-college; and was never absent from public prayers at the chapel, and constantly read fifteen chapters in the Bible every day. He was the laborious, exemplary, and much-loved minister, of whom none thought or spoke ill, says Mr. Granger, "but such as were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself." He refused the provostship of King's-college in Cambridge; and had eight children, who lived to man's and woman's estate. Clarke's Lives in his General Martyrology, p. 234;—and Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 179, &c.

arise, who without any foreign alliances should be capable of guarding against so many foreign and domestic enemies, and of steering the commonwealth through such a hurricane, clear of the rocks and quicksands which threatened its ruin.

This was the province that the enterprising Oliver undertook, with the style and title of lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He assumed all the state and ceremony of a crowned head; his household officers and guards attended in their places, and his court appeared in as great splendour, and more order, than had been seen at Whitehall since queen Elizabeth's reign. His first concern was to fill the courts of justice with the ablest lawyers; sir Matthew Hales was made lord-chief-justice of the common pleas; Mr. Maynard, Twisden, Newdigate, and Windham, serjeants at law; Mr. Thurloe, secretary of state; and Monk, governor of Scotland. His next care was to deliver himself from his foreign enemies; for this purpose he gave peace to the Dutch, which the fame of his power enabled him to accomplish without the ceremony of a formal treaty; he therefore sent his secretary Thurloe with the conditions to which they were to submit; the Dutch pleaded for abatements, but his highness was at a point, and obliged them to deliver up the island of Polerone in the East-Indies; to pay 300,000*l.* for the affair of Amboyna; to abandon the interests of king Charles II. to exclude the prince of Orange from being stadtholder, and to yield up the sovereignty of the seas.

When this was accomplished most of the sovereign princes in Europe sent to compliment his highness upon his advancement, and to cultivate his friendship: the king of Portugal asked pardon for receiving prince Rupert into his ports; the Danes got themselves included in the Dutch treaty, and became security for 140,000*l.* damages done to the English shipping; the Swedes sued for an alliance, which was concluded with their ambassador; the crown of Spain made offers which the protector rejected; but the address of the French ambassador was most extraordinary; the protector received him in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, with all the state and magnificence of a crowned head; and the ambassador, having made his obeisance, acquainted his highness with the king his master's

desire to establish a correspondence between his dominions and England. He mentioned the value of the friendship of France, and how much it was courted by the greatest potentates of the earth ; “ but (says the ambassador) the king my master communicates his resolutions to none with so much joy and cheerfulness, as to those whose virtuous actions, and extraordinary merits, render them more conspicuously famous than the largeness of their dominions. His majesty is sensible, that all these advantages do wholly reside in your highness, and that the Divine Providence, after so many calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three nations, nor cause them to forget their past miseries with greater satisfaction, than by subjecting them to so just a government——”

The protector's most dangerous enemies were the royalists, Presbyterians, and republicans, at home ; the former menaced him with an assassination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin so detestable a practice, yet if any of the king's party should attempt it and fail, he would make an assassinating war of it, and exterminate the whole family, which his servants were ready to execute ; the terror of this threatening was a greater security to him than his coat of mail or guards. The protector had the skill always to discover the most secret designs of the royalists by some of their own number, whom he spared no cost to gain over to his interests. Sir Richard Willis was chancellor Hyde's chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and in whom all the party confided, as in an able and wise statesman : but the protector gained him with 200*l.* a year, by which means he had all the king's party in a net, and let them dance in it at pleasure.* He had another correspondent in the king's little family, one Manning a Roman Catholic, who gave secretary Thurloe intelligence of all his majesty's councils and proceedings. But though the king's friends were always in one plot or other against the protector's person and government, he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable bounds ; and without all question, the severe laws that were made against the episcopal party were not on the account of religion, but of their irreconcilable aversion to the government.

* Burnet, p. 91, vol. 1. Edin. edit.

The whole body of the Presbyterians were in principle for the king and the covenant, but after the battle of Worcester, and the execution of Mr. Love, they were terrified into a compliance with the commonwealth, though they disallowed their proceedings, and were pleased to see them broken in pieces; but the surprising advancement of Cromwell to the protectorship filled them with new terrors, and threatened the overthrow of their church-power, for they considered him not only as a usurper, but a sectarian, who would countenance the free exercise of religion to all that would live peaceably under his government; and though he assured them he would continue religion upon the foot of the present establishment, yet nothing would satisfy them as long as their discipline was disarmed of its coercive power.

But the protector's most determined adversaries were the commonwealth-party; these were divided into two branches; one had little or no religion, but were for a democracy in the state, and universal liberty of conscience in religion; the heads of them were Deists, or in the language of the protector, Heathens, as Algernon Sidney, Henry Neville, Martin, Wildman, and Harrington. It was impossible to work upon these men, or reconcile them to the government of a single person, and therefore he disarmed them of their power. The other were high enthusiasts, and fifth monarchy men, who were in expectation of king Jesus, and of a glorious thousand years' reign of Christ upon earth. They were for pulling down churches, says bishop Burnet,* for discharging tithes, and leaving religion free (as they called it), without either encouragement or restraint. Most of them were for destroying the clergy, and for breaking every thing that looked like a national establishment. These the protector endeavoured to gain, by assuring them in private conversation, "that he had no manner of inclination to assume the government, but had rather have been content with a shepherd's staff, were it not absolutely necessary to keep the nation from falling to pieces, and becoming a prey to the common enemy; that he only stepped in between the living and the dead, as he expressed it, and this only till God should direct them on what bottom to settle, when he would surrender his dignity with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he had taken it up." With the chiefs of this

* Vol. 1. p. 93.

party he affected to converse upon terms of great familiarity, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered in his presence, to let them see how little he valued those distances he was bound to observe for form's sake with others; he talked with them in their own language, and the conversation commonly ended with a long prayer.

The protector's chief support against these powerful adversaries were the Independents, the city of London, and the army; the former looked upon him as the head of their party, though he was no more theirs than as he was averse to church-power, and for a universal toleration. He courted the city of London with a decent respect, declaring, upon all occasions, his resolution to confirm their privileges, and consult measures for promoting trade and commerce. These, in return, after his instalment, entertained him at dinner in a most magnificent and princelike manner, and by degrees modelled their magistrates to his mind. But his chief dependance was upon the army, which being made up of different parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his devotion. He paid the soldiers well, and advanced them according to their merits, and zeal for his government, without regard to their birth or seniority.

It was the protector's felicity, that the parties above mentioned had as great an enmity to each other as to him; the cavaliers hated the Presbyterians and republicans, as these did the cavaliers; the royalists fancied that all who were against the protector must join with them in restoring the king; while the Presbyterians were pushing for their covenant-uniformity, and the republicans for a commonwealth. Cromwell had the skill not only to keep them divided, but to increase their jealousies of each other, and by that means to disconcert all their measures against himself. Let the reader recollect what a difficult situation this was; and what a genius it must require to maintain so high a reputation abroad, in the midst of so many domestic enemies, who were continually plotting his destruction.

In pursuance of the instrument of government, the protector published an ordinance, April 12, to incorporate the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The ordinance sets forth, "that whereas the parliament in 1651 had sent commissioners into Scotland, to invite that nation to a union

with England under one government; and whereas the consent of the shires and boroughs was then obtained, therefore for completing that work, he ordains, that the people of Scotland, and all the territories thereunto belonging, shall be incorporated into one commonwealth with England, and that in every parliament to be held successively for the said commonwealth thirty members shall be called from thence to serve for Scotland.—” Shortly after Ireland was incorporated after the same manner; and from this time the arms of Scotland and Ireland were quartered with those of England.

But the protector was hardly fixed in his chair before an assassination-plot of the royalists was discovered, and three of the conspirators, viz. Mr. Fox, Mr. Gerhard, and Mr. Vowel, were apprehended, and tried before a high court of justice, for conspiring to murder the lord-protector as he was going to Hampton-court, to seize the guards, and the Tower of London; and to proclaim the king. Mr. Fox, who confessed most of what was alleged against him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two, putting themselves on their trial, though they denied the jurisdiction of the court, were convicted, and executed July 10. Gerhard, a young hot-headed ensign in the late king's army, was beheaded; and Vowel, a schoolmaster at Islington, hanged at Charing-cross: Gerhard confessed he knew of the plot, but Vowel was silent.* These commotions were the occasion of the hardships the royalists underwent some time after.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, was beheaded the same day, upon account of a riot and murder in the New Exchange. Pantaleon had quarrelled with the above-mentioned Gerhard, and to revenge himself, brought his servants next day armed with swords and pistols to kill him; but instead of Gerhard, they killed another man, and wounded several others. The Portuguese knight and his associates fled to his brother the ambassador's house for sanctuary, but the mob followed them, and threatened to pull down the house, unless they were delivered up to

* Mr. Neal's account, as Dr. Grey remarks, does not agree with lord Clarendon who represents Vowel as earnestly and pathetically addressing the people, and the soldiers, exhorting them to loyalty: and Gerhard as declaring, "that he was innocent, and had not entered into or consented to any plot, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose." Whitelocke says, that when they were brought before the high court, they both denied all the charges alleged against them. Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 492; Whitelocke's Memoirs, p. 575.

justice. The protector, being informed of the tumult, sent an officer with a party of soldiers to demand the murderers. The ambassador pleaded his public character, but the protector would admit of no excuse; and therefore being forced to deliver them up, they were all tried and convicted, by a jury half English and half foreigners; the servants (says Whitelocke*) were reprieved and pardoned; but the ambassador's brother, who was the principal, notwithstanding all the intercession that could be made for his life, was carried in a mourning-coach to Tower-hill, and beheaded. This remarkable act of justice raised the people's esteem of the protector's resolution, and of the justice of his government.

In order to a farther settlement of the nation, the protector summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, September 3; which being reckoned one of his auspicious days he would not alter, though it fell on a Sunday; the house met accordingly, and having waited upon the protector in the painted chamber, adjourned to the next day, September 4, when his highness rode from Whitehall to Westminster with all the pomp and state of the greatest monarch: some hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered; his pages and lackeys in the richest liveries; the captains of his guards on each side of his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered; then followed the commissioners of the treasury, master of ceremonies, and other officers. The sword, the great seal, the purse, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers.

After a sermon preached by Dr. Thomas Goodwin, his highness† repaired to the painted chamber, and being seated in a chair of state, raised by sundry steps, he made a speech to the members, in which he complained of the levellers and fifth monarchy men, who were for subverting the established laws, and for throwing all things back into confusion. He put them in mind of the difficulties in which the nation was involved at the time he assumed the government. "That it was at war with Portugal, Holland, and France; which together with the divisions among ourselves (says he), begat a confidence in the enemy that we could not hold out long. In this heap of confusion it was necessary to apply some remedy, that the nation might not sink; and the remedy (says he) is this government, which is calculated for the interest

* Mem. p. 372. † Whitelocke, p. 382.

of the people alone, without regard to any other, let men say what they will; I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all as to my own intention. Since this government has been erected, men of the most known integrity and ability have been put into seats of justice. The chancery has been reformed. It has put a stop to that heady way for every man that will, to make himself a preacher, by settling a way for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work. It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work; and now, at length, it has been instrumental of calling a free parliament.

"A peace is now made with Sweden, and with the Danes; a peace honourable to the nation, and satisfactory to the merchants. A peace is made with the Dutch, and with Portugal; and such a one that the people that trade thither have liberty of conscience, without being subject to the bloody inquisition." He then advises them to concert measures for the support of the present government, and desires them to believe, that he spoke to them not as one that intended to be a lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them for the interest of their country; and then, having exhorted them to unanimity, he dismissed them to their house to choose a speaker.

William Lenthall, esq. master of the rolls, and speaker of the long-parliament, was chosen without opposition. The first point the house entered on was the instrument of government, which occasioned many warm debates, and was like to have occasioned a fatal breach amongst them. To prevent this the protector gave orders, September 12, that as the members came to the house they should be directed to attend his highness in the painted chamber, where he made the following remarkable speech, which is deserving the reader's careful attention: "Gentlemen, I am surprised at your conduct, in debating so freely the instrument of government; for the same power that has made you a parliament has appointed me protector, so that if you dispute the one, you must disown the other."* He added, "that he was a gentleman by birth, and had been called to several employments in parliament, and in the wars, which being at an end, he was willing to retire to a private life, and prayed to be dismissed, but could not obtain it. That he had pressed the

* Dugdale's *Late Troubles*, p. 426, &c.

long-parliament, as a member, to dissolve themselves; but finding they intended to continue their sessions, he thought himself obliged to dismiss them, and to call some persons together from the several parts of the nation, to see if they could fall upon a better settlement. Accordingly he resigned up all his power into their hands, but they after some time returned it back to him. After this (says he) divers gentlemen having consulted together, framed the present model without my privity, and told me, that unless I would undertake the same; blood and confusion would break in upon them; but I refused again and again, till considering that it did not put me into a higher capacity than I was in before, I consented; since which time I have had the thanks of the army, the fleet, the city of London, and of great numbers of gentry in the three nations. Now the government being thus settled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which may not be examined into, or altered. (1.) That the government be in a single person and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The article relating to the militia. And, (4.) A due liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Other things in the government may be changed as occasion requires. Forasmuch therefore as you have gone about to subvert the fundamentals of this government, and throw all things back into confusion, to prevent the like for the future I am necessitated to appoint you a test, or recognition of the government by which you are made a parliament, before you go any more into the house."* Accordingly at their return, they found a guard at the door denying entrance to any who would not first sign the following engagement. "I A. B. do hereby freely promise, and engage to be true and faithful to the lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propose or give my consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person and a parliament." About three hundred of the members signed the recognition, and having taken their places in the house, with some difficulty confirmed the instrument of government almost in every thing, but the right of nominating a successor to the present protector; which they reserved to the parliament. They voted the present lord-protector to continue for life. They continued the standing army of ten thousand horse and

* Whitelocke, p. 587.

twenty thousand foot, and 60,000*l.* a month for their maintenance. They gave the protector 200,000*l.* a year for his civil list, and assigned Whitehall, St. James's, and the rest of the late king's houses, for his use; but they were out of humour, and were so far from shewing respect to the court, that they held no manner of correspondence with it; which together with their voting, that no one clause of what they had agreed upon should be binding, unless the whole were consented to, provoked the protector,* as derogating from his power of consenting to or refusing particular bills, and therefore, having discovered several plots against his government ready to break out, in which some of the members were concerned, he sent for them into the painted chamber, January 22; and after a long and intricate speech, in which, after some strong expressions in favour of liberty to men of the same faith, though of different judgments in lesser matters, he complained, that they had taken no more notice of him, either by message or address, than if there had been no such person in being; that they had done nothing for the honour and support of the government, but spent their time in fruitless debates of little consequence, while the nation was bleeding to death; and instead of making things easy, that they had laid a foundation for future dissatisfactions; he therefore dissolved them, without confirming any of their acts, after they had sat five months, according to the instrument of government, reckoning twenty-eight days to a month. This was deemed an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional title the parliament would have given him; but this great man with the sword in his hand was not to be jostled out of the saddle with votes and resolutions; and if one may credit his speech, his assuming the government was not so much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold resolution to prevent the nation's falling back into anarchy and blood.

Upon the rising of the parliament major-general Harrison, one of the chiefs of the republicans, was taken into custody; and Mr. John Wildman, who had been expelled the house, was apprehended as he was drawing up a paper, entitled, "A declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell;" which prevented the rising of that party.†

* Life of Cromwell, p. 291.

† Whitelocke, p. 600.

The royalists were buying up arms at the same time, and preparing to rise in several parts of the kingdom.* They had procured commissions from the young king at Cologne, and desired his majesty to be ready on the sea-coast by the 11th of March, when there would be a revolt in the army, and when Dover-castle would be delivered into their hands. The king accordingly removed to Middleburgh in Zealand; but the protector had intelligence of it from his spies, and declared it openly as soon as he was arrived, which intimidated the conspirators, and made them fear they were discovered: however, about the time appointed, some small parties of royalists got together in Shropshire with an intent to surprise Shrewsbury and Chirk-castle. A cart-load of arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where they were to be headed by Wilmot earl of Rochester; but they no sooner met but they dispersed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular troops. In the west sir Joseph Wagstaffe, colonel Penruddock, captain Hugh Grove, Mr. Jones, and others, entered the city of Salisbury, with two hundred horse well armed, in the time of the assizes, and seized the judges Rolls and Nichols, with the sheriff of the county, whom they resolved to hang. They proclaimed the king, and threatened violence to such as would not join them; but the country not coming in according to their expectations they were intimidated, and after five or six hours marched away into Dorsetshire, and from thence to Devonshire, where captain Crook overtook them, and with one single troop of horse defeated and took most of them prisoners; Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter; and some few others were executed at Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumphed.

The vigilance of the protector on this occasion is almost incredible; he caused a great many suspected lords and gentlemen to be secured; he sent letters to the justices of peace in every county, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and secure all persons who should make the least disturbance. And his private intelligence of people's discourse and behaviour, in every corner of the land, never failed.†

If the reader will duly consider the danger arising from these commotions, and the necessity of striking some terror

* Clarendon, vol. 3. p. 551.

† Whitelocke, p. 602.

into the authors of them, he will easily account for the protector's severity against the royalists; when therefore the insurrection was quashed, he resolved to make the whole party pay the expense; and accordingly, with the consent of his council, published an order, "that all who had been in arms for the king, or had declared themselves of the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up; for which purpose commissioners were appointed in every county, and considerable sums were brought into the treasury." To justify this extraordinary procedure, the protector published another declaration; in which he complains of the irreconcilableness of those who had adhered to the king, towards all those who had served their country on the side of the parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as public enemies, and to be kept from being able to do mischief, since it sufficiently appeared that they were always disposed to do all they could. Upon these accounts he thought it highly reasonable, and declares it to be his resolution, that if any desperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party should suffer for it.

To return to the affairs of religion: though the Presbyterian discipline was at a low ebb, it was still the established religion of the nation. The provincial assembly of London continued their sessions at Sion-college every half year, and endeavoured to support the dignity of the ministerial office. Complaint having been made that the pulpit-doors were set open to laymen, and gifted brethren, they appointed a committee to collect materials for the vindication of the ministerial character, which being revised by the synod, was published this summer under the title of "*Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*: or, the Divine Right of an Evangelical Ministry, in two parts. By the provincial assembly of London. With an appendix, of the judgment and practice of antiquity."

In the debates of parliament upon the instrument of government it was observed, that by the thirty-seventh article, all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ should be protected in their religion.* This was interpreted to imply

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 197.

an agreement in fundamentals. Upon which it was voted, that all should be tolerated or indulged who professed the fundamentals of Christianity ; and a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of fundamentals to be presented to the house : the committee, being above fourteen, named each of them a divine ; among others archbishop Usher was nominated, but he declining the affair, Mr. Baxter was appointed in his room : the rest who acted were,

Dr. Owen	Mr. Reyner	Mr. Vines
Dr. Goodwin	Mr. Nye	Mr. Manton
Dr. Cheynel	Mr. Sydrach Simpson	Mr. Jacomb.
Mr. Marshal		

Mr. Baxter* would have persuaded his brethren to offer the committee the Apostles' creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, alone, as containing the fundamentals of religion ; but it was objected, that this would include Socinians and Papists. Mr. Baxter replied, that it was so much fitter for a centre of unity or concord, because it was impossible, in his opinion, to devise a form of words which heretics would not subscribe, when they had perverted them to their own sense. These arguments not prevailing, the following articles were presented to the committee, but not brought into the house ; under the title of " The principles of faith, presented by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Simpson, and other ministers, to the committee of parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the proposals for propagating the gospel."

1st. That the Holy Scripture is that rule of knowing God and living unto him, which whoso does not believe cannot be saved.—2 Thess. ii. 10—12. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1—3. 2 Cor. i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

2dly. That there is a God, who is the creator, governor, and judge, of the world, which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of him is insufficient.—Heb. xi. 3. 6. Rom. i. 19—22. 1 Cor. i. 21. 2 Thess. i. 8.

3dly. That this God, who is the creator, is eternally distinct from all creatures in his being and blessedness.—Rom. i. 18. 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

4thly. That this God is one in three persons or subsistences.—1 John v. 5—9, compared with John viii. 17—19.

* Life, part 2. p. 198.

21. Matt. xxviii. 19, compared with Ephesians iv. 4—6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2 John 9, 10.

5thly. That Jesus Christ is the only mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there is no salvation.—1 Tim. ii. 4—6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John ii. 22, Acts iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

6thly. That this Jesus Christ is the true God.—1 John v. 29. Isaiah xlv. 21—25.

7thly. That this Jesus Christ is also true man.—1 John iv. 2, 3. 2 John 7.

8thly. That this Jesus Christ is God and man in one person.—1 Tim. iii. 16. Matt. xvi. 13—18.

9thly. That this Jesus Christ is our redeemer, who by paying a ransom, and bearing our sins, has made satisfaction for them.—Isaiah liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4—6.

10thly. That this same Lord Jesus Christ is he that was crucified at Jerusalem, and rose again, and ascended into heaven.—John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10—12. Acts x. 38—43. 1 Cor. xv. 2—8. Acts xxii. 2. Acts ii. 36.

11thly. That this same Jesus Christ, being the only God and man in one person, remains for ever a distinct person from all saints and angels, notwithstanding their union and communion with him.—Col. ii. 8—10. 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

12thly. That all men by nature are dead in sins and trespasses; and no man can be saved unless he be born again, repent, and believe.—John iii. 3. 5—7. 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi. 17—20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

13thly. That we are justified and saved by grace, and faith in Jesus Christ, and not by works.—Acts xv. 24, compared with Gal. i. 6—9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31—33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Ephes. ii. 8—10.

14thly. That to continue in any known sin, upon what pretence or principle soever, is damnable.—Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John, i. 6, 8. and iii. 3—8. 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

15thly. That God is to be worshipped according to his own will; and whosoever shall forsake and despise all the duties of his worship cannot be saved.—Jer. x. 15. Psalm xiv. 4. Jude, 18—21. Rom. x. 13.

16thly. That the dead shall rise; and that there is a day of judgment, wherein all shall appear, some to go into everlasting life, and some into everlasting condemnation.—1 Tim. i. 19, 20, compared with 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Acts xvii. 30, 31. John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. Baxter* says, Dr. Owen worded these articles; that Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Simpson, were his assistants; that Dr. Cheynel was scribe; and that Mr. Marshal, a sober worthy man, did something; but that the rest were little better than passive. He adds, that twenty of their propositions were printed, though in my copy, licensed by Scobel, there are only sixteen: however, the parliament being abruptly dissolved they were all buried in oblivion.

It appears by these articles, that these divines intended to exclude, not only Deists, Socinians, and Papists, but Arians, Antinomians, Quakers, and others. Into such difficulties do wise and good men fall, when they usurp the kingly office of Christ, and pretend to restrain that liberty which is the birthright of every reasonable creature. It is an unwarrantable presumption for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the Christian religion, any farther than the Scriptures have expressly declared it. It is one thing to maintain a doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no man can be saved: none may say this but God himself. Besides, why should the civil magistrate protect none but those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ? If a colony of English merchants should settle among the Mahometans or Chinese, should we not think that the government of those countries ought to protect them in their religion as long as they invaded no man's property, and paid obedience and submission to the government under which they lived? Why then should Christians deny others the same liberty?

The protector and his council were in more generous sentiments of liberty, as will appear hereafter.† Mr. Baxter says,‡ the protector and his friends gave out, that they could not understand what the magistrates had to do in matters of religion; they thought that all men should be left to the

* Life, p. 205.

† "Bigotry (says Dr. Harris) made no part of Cromwell's character:" and he proves the truth of his assertion by a full elucidation and a minute detail. Life of Cromwell, p. 37—43.—Ed.

‡ Life, p. 193.

liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interpose without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution. And were not these just and noble sentiments, though the parliament would not accept them? His highness therefore, in his speech at their dissolution, reproaches them in these words: *—"How proper is it to labour for liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences! Have we not lately laboured under the weight of persecution; and is it fit then to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke is removed? I could wish, that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands. As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, contentions railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, and persons of loose conversation, punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them; because if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary, to the gospel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, make them the subject of the magistrates' sword, who ought not to bear it in vain."—

Agreeable to these principles, Dr. George Bates, an eminent royalist, and a great enemy of Cromwell's, writes, "that the protector indulged the use of the Common Prayer in families, and in private conventicles; and though the condition of the church of England was but melancholy, yet (says the doctor) it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal more favour and indulgence than under the parliament; which would never have been interrupted had they not insulted the protector, and forfeited their liberty by their seditious practices and plottings against his person and government."

The approbation of public ministers had been hitherto reserved to the several Presbyteries in city and country; but the protector observing some inconvenience in this method, and not being willing to intrust the qualification of candidates all over England to a number of Presbyterians only, who might admit none but those of their own persuasion,

* Life of Cromwell, p. 337.

contrived a middle way of joining the several parties together, and intrusting the affair with certain commissioners of each denomination, men of as known abilities and integrity as any the nation had.* This was done by an ordinance of council bearing date March 20, 1653—4; the preamble to which sets forth, “that whereas for some time past, there had not been any certain course established for supplying vacant places with able and fit persons to preach the gospel, by reason whereof the rights and titles of patrons were prejudiced, and many weak, scandalous, Popish, and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves, or been brought in; for remedy of which it is ordained by his highness the lord-protector, by and with the consent of his council, that every person who shall, after the 25th of March, 1654, be presented, nominated, chosen, or appointed, to any benefice with care of souls, or to any public settled lecture in England or Wales, shall, before he be admitted, be examined and approved by the persons hereafter named, to be a person, for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblamable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the gospel.”† Among the commissioners were eight or nine laymen, the rest ministers; their names were,

Francis Rouse, esq.	Rev. Dr. Horton	Rev. Mr. Walter Craddock
Alderman Titchbourne	Thankful Owen, M. A.	Mr. Samuel Fairclough
Mark Hildesley, esq.	Mr. Joseph Caryl	Mr. Hugh Peters
Thomas Wood, esq.	Mr. Philip Nye	Mr. Peter Sterry
John Sadler, esq.	Mr. William Carter	Mr. Samuel Bamford
William Goffe, esq.	Mr. Sydrach Simpson	Thomas Valentine, of
Thomas St. Nicholas, esq.	Mr. William Greenhill	Chaford, B. D.
William Packer, esq.	Mr. William Strong	Mr. Henry Jesse
Edward Cresset, esq.	Dr. Thomas Manton	Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick
Rev. Dr. John Owen	Mr. Samuel Slater	Mr. Nicholas Lockyer
Dr. Thomas Goodwin	Mr. William Cooper	Mr. Dan. Dike
Dr. Arrowsmith	Mr. Stephen Marshall	Mr. James Russel
Dr. Tuckney	John Tombes, B. D.	Mr. Nath. Campfield.

These were commonly called triers; in all thirty-eight; of whom some were Presbyterians, others Independents, and two or three were Baptists. Any five were sufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a person as unqualified. In case of death, or removal of any of the commissioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the protector and his council; or by the parliament if sitting. But some of the Presbyterian divines declined

* Baxter's Life, p. 72.

† Scobel, p. 279.

acting, for want of a better authority; or because they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any these times could produce till the next sessions of parliament.* By an ordinance of September 2, 1654, I find the Rev. Mr. John Rowe, Mr. John Bond, Mr. George Griffith of the Charter-house, Mr. John Turner, and Godfrey Bosville, esq. added to the commissioners above mentioned.

To such as were approved, the commissioners gave an instrument in writing under a common seal for that purpose, by virtue of which they were put into as full possession of the living to which they were nominated or chosen, as if they had been admitted by institution and induction.

It was farther provided, that all who presented themselves for approbation should produce a certificate signed by three persons at least of known integrity, one of whom to be a preacher of the gospel in some settled place, testifying on their personal knowledge, the holy and good conversation of the person to be admitted; which certificate was to be registered and filed. And all penalties for not subscribing, or reading the articles of religion, according to the act of 13 Eliz. were to cease and be void.

And forasmuch as some persons might have been preferred to livings within the last twelvemonth, when there was no settled method of approbation, the ordinance looks back, and ordains, "that no person who had been placed in any benefice or lecture since April 1, 1653, should be allowed to continue in it, unless he got himself approved by the 24th of June, or at farthest the 23d of July, 1654."

It is observable, that this ordinance provides no security for the civil government, the commissioners not being empowered to administer an oath of allegiance or fidelity to the protector. By this means some of the sequestered clergy, taking advantage of the act of oblivion in 1651, passed their trials before the commissioners and returned to their livings. The protector being advised of this defect, by advice of his council, published an additional ordinance, September 2, 1654, requiring the commissioners not to give admission to any who had been sequestered from their ecclesiastical benefices for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity, and submission to the present government, his highness and

* Scobel, p. 366.

his council should be satisfied of their fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical promotions; and the same to be signified to the said commissioners.* Both these ordinances were confirmed by parliament in the year 1656, with this proviso, "that the commissioners appointed by his highness in the intervals of parliament should afterward be confirmed by the succeeding parliament." Another defect in the ordinance was, that it did not appoint some standard or rule for the triers to go by; this would have taken off all odium from themselves, and prevented a great many needless disputes; but as matters now stood, men's qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary opinions and votes of the commissioners. After examination they gave the candidate a copy of the presentation in these words:† "Know all men by these presents, that the — day of — in the year — there was exhibited to the commissioners for examination of public ministers, a presentation of Mr. — to the rectory of —, in the county of —, made to him by Mr. —, the patron thereof, under his hand and seal, together with a testimony of his holy and godly conversation. Upon perusal, and due consideration of the premises, and finding him to be a person qualified, as in and by the ordinance for such qualifications is required, the commissioners above mentioned have adjudged and approved the said Mr. — to be a fit person to preach the gospel, and have granted him admission, and do admit the said Mr. — to the rectory of — aforesaid, to be full and perfect possessor and incumbent thereof: and do hereby signify to all persons concerned therein, that he is hereby entitled to all the profits and perquisites, and to all rights and dues incident and belonging to the said rectory, as fully and effectually as if he had been instituted and inducted according to any such laws and customs as have in this case formerly been made or used in this realm. In witness whereof they have caused the common seal to be hereunto affixed, and the same to be attested by the hand of the registrar, by his highness in that behalf appointed. Dated at — the — day of — in the year —

"(L. S.)

JOHN NYE, Reg."

Loud complaints have been made against these triers; Mr. Collyer objects to there being eight laymen among the

* Scobel, p. 366.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 247.

commissioners, and that any five having power to act, it might sometimes happen that none but secular men might determine the qualifications of such who were to preach and administer the sacraments.

Mr. John Goodwin, an Independent divine of Arminian principles, observes, the triers made their own narrow Calvinian sentiments in divinity the door of admission to all church-preferments; and that their power was greater than that of the bishops, because the laws had provided a remedy against their arbitrary proceedings, by a *quare impedit*; or if the bishop might determine absolutely of the qualifications of the candidate or clerk to be admitted into a living, yet these qualifications were sufficiently specified, and particularized in the ecclesiastical laws or canons, and the bishop might be obliged, by due course of law, to assign the reasons of his refusal; whereas the determinations of these commissioners for approbation were final; nor were they obliged so much as to specify any reason for their rejecting any person, but only their vote, *not approved*.

It was farther complained of as a very great hardship, that "there was but one set of triers for the whole nation, who resided always at London, which must occasion great expense, and long journeys, to such as lived in the remoter countries." But to remedy this inconvenience, Dr. Walker says,* they appointed sub-commissioners in the remoter countries. And, according to Mr. Baxter, if any were unable to come to London, or were of doubtful qualifications, the commissioners of London used to refer them to some ministers in the country where they lived; and under their testimonial they approved or rejected them. Amidst such variety of sentiments it was next to impossible to please all parties; when there were no triers, the complaint was, that the pulpit-doors were left open to all intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one method of examination. And it must be left to every one's judgment, whether a bishop and his chaplain, or a classis of presbyters, or the present mixture, of laity and clergy, be most eligible.

The chief objections against these triers has been to the manner of executing their powers. Bishop Kennet says,† "that this holy inquisition was turned into a snare to catch men of probity, and sense, and sound divinity, and to let

* Walker, p. 172.

† Complete History, p. 209.

none escape but ignorant, bold, canting fellows; for these triers, (says the bishop) asked few or no questions in knowledge or learning, but only about conversion, and the grace of God in the heart, to which the readiest answers would arise from infatuation in some, and the trade of hypocrisy in others. By this means the rights of patronage were at their pleasure, and the character and abilities of divines whatever they pleased to make them, and churches were filled with little creatures of the state." But the bishop has produced no examples of this; nor were any of these canting little creatures turned out for insufficiency at the Restoration. Dr. George Bates, an eminent royalist, with a little more temper and truth, says, "that they inquired more narrowly into their affection to the present government, and into the internal marks and character of the grace of God in their heart, than into their learning; by which means many ignorant laics, mechanics, and pedlars, were admitted to livings, when persons of greater merit were rejected." But it may be observed again, that, ignorant as they were, not one of the mechanics or pedlars who conformed at the Restoration was ejected for insufficiency. When the commissioners had to do with persons of known learning, sobriety, reputed orthodoxy, and a peaceable behaviour, they made but little inquiry into the marks of their conversion; as appears from the example of Mr. Fuller the historian, who being presented to a living was approved by the triers, without giving any other evidence of the grace of God in him than this, that he made conscience of his thoughts.

Dr. Walker has published the examinations of two or three clergymen, who were notorious for their malignity and disaffection to the government, whom the commissioners puzzled with dark and abstruse questions in divinity, that they might set them aside, without encountering their political principles; for when they had private intimations of notorious malignants to come before them, they frequently had recourse to this method; though it is not unlikely that upon some other occasions, they might lay too great stress upon the internal characters of regeneration, the truth of which depends entirely upon the integrity of the respondent. But I believe not a single instance can be produced, of any who were rejected for insufficiency without being first convicted either of immorality, of obnoxious sentiments in the

Socinian or Pelagian controversy, or of disaffection to the present government. Mr. Sadler, who was presented to a living in Dorsetshire, but rejected by the triers, published his examination in a pamphlet, which he calls *Inquisitio Anglicana*, wherein he endeavours to expose the commissioners in a very contemptuous manner; but Mr. John Nye, clerk to the commissioners, followed him with an answer, entitled, “*Sadler examined; or, his disguise discovered;*” shewing the gross mistakes and most notorious falsehoods in his dealings with the commissioners for approbation of public preachers,* in his *Inquisitio Anglicana*. To which Mr. Sadler never replied.

Doctor George Bates and Dr. Walker have charged the triers with simony, upon no other proof, but that Hugh Peters said once to Mr. Camplin, a clergyman of Somersetshire, upon his applying to him, by a friend, for dispatch, “*Has thy friend any money?*” A slender proof of so heavy a charge. They who are acquainted with the jocose conversation of Hugh Peters, will not wonder at such an expression. But I refer the reader back to the names and characters of the commissioners, most of whom were men of unquestionable probity, for a sufficient answer to this calumny.

No doubt the triers did commit sundry mistakes, which it was hardly possible to avoid in their station. I am far from vindicating all their proceedings; they had a difficult work on their hands, lived in times when the extent of Christian liberty was not well understood, had to deal with men of different principles in religion and politics; and those who were not approved, would of course complain. Had this power been lodged with the bishops of these times, or their chaplains; or with the high Presbyterians, would they not have had their shibboleth, for which ill-natured men might have called them a holy inquisition? But Mr. Baxter has given a very fair and candid account of them; his words are these, “*Because this assembly of triers is most heavily accused and reproached by some men, I shall speak the truth of them, and suppose my word will be taken, because most of them took me for one of their boldest adversaries: the truth is, though their authority was null, and though some few over-rigid and over-busy Independents among them were too severe against all that were Arminians, and too*

* *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 370.

particular in inquiring after evidences of sanctification in those whom they examined; and somewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erroneous men, that favoured Antimonianism or Anabaptism; yet, to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the church. They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to say a sermon, as readers say their common prayers on Sunday, and all the rest of the week go with the people to the alehouse, and harden them in sin; and that sort of ministers who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that were never acquainted with it; these they usually rejected, and in their stead admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were; so that though many of them were a little partial for the Independents, separatists, fifth monarchy men, and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterward cast them out again.”*

The commissioners were not empowered to look farther back than one year before the date of the ordinance that constituted them. All who were in possession of livings before that time were out of their reach; nor would the protector have given these any disturbance, had he not received certain information of their stirring up the people, to join the insurrection that was now on foot for the restoration of the king. They continued sitting at Whitehall till the protector's death, or the year 1659, and were then discontinued.

But to humble the clergy yet farther, and kept them within the bounds of their spiritual function, his highness, by the advice of his council, published an ordinance, bearing date August 28, 1654, entitled, “An ordinance for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters.” The ordinance appoints and nominates certain lay-commissioners for every county, and joins with them ten or more of the gravest and most noted ministers, as their assistants, and empowers any five or more of them, to call

* Baxter's Life, p. 72.

before them any public preacher, lecturer, parson, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster, who is or shall be reputed ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent; and to receive all articles or charges that shall be exhibited against them on this account; and to proceed to the examination and determination of such offences, according to the following rules.*

“Such ministers and schoolmasters shall be accounted scandalous in their lives and conversations, as shall hold or maintain such blasphemous or atheistical opinions, as are punishable by the act, entitled ‘An act against several blasphemous and atheistical opinions,’ &c. or that shall be guilty of profane swearing and cursing, perjury, and subornation of perjury; such as maintain any Popish opinions, required to be abjured by the oath of abjuration; or are guilty of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns or alehouses; frequent quarrellings or fightings; frequent playing at cards or dice; profaning of the sabbath; or that do allow and countenance the same in their families, or in their parishes. Such as have frequently read or used the Common Prayer-book in public since the first of January last; or shall at any time hereafter do the same. Such as publicly and profanely scoff at the strict profession or professors of godliness. Such as encourage or countenance Whitsun-ales, wakes, morrice-dancing, may-poles, stage-plays, or such-like licentious practices. Such as have declared, or shall declare, by writing, preaching, or otherwise publishing, their disaffection to the present government.

“Such ministers shall be accounted negligent, as omit the public exercise of preaching and praying on the Lord’s day (not being hindered by necessary absence or infirmity of body); or that are or shall be nonresidents. Such schoolmasters shall be accounted negligent as absent themselves from their schools, and wilfully neglect to teach their scholars.

“Such ministers or schoolmasters shall be accounted ignorant and insufficient, as shall be so declared and adjudged by the commissioners in every county, or any five of them, together with five of the ministers mentioned in the ordinance.”

The lay-commissioners were to proceed upon oath, both for and against the person accused; but in cases of ignorance or insufficiency, they were to be joined by five of the assistant clergy at least; and if ten of the commissioners,

* Scobel, p. 335. 340.

whereof five to be ministers, gave it under their hands, that the party was ignorant or insufficient, then the said minister or schoolmaster was to be ejected, and the said judgment entered in a register-book with the reason thereof. After ejectionment, the party might not preach or teach school in the parish from whence he was ejected; but convenient time was to be allowed for his removal, and the fifths reserved for the support of his family. The rightful patron was to present to the vacant living an approved preacher; and in case of lapse it fell to the protector and his council.

This ordinance being confirmed by the parliament of 1656, gave great offence to the old clergy; Mr. Gatford, the sequestered rector of Denington, published a pamphlet, entitled "A petition for the vindication of the use of Common Prayer, &c." occasioned by the late ordinance for ejecting scandalous ministers; as also thirty-seven queries concerning the said ordinance; which he presented to the parliament, which met September 3, 1654; but they took no notice of it.

Mr. Gatford observes, that the protector and his council had no legal authority to make this or any other ordinance without consent of a parliament: whereas the instrument of government empowered them to provide for the safety of the state, by making laws till the parliament should meet. He observes farther, that such a proceeding must justify his late majesty and council in all their illegal proceedings before the civil wars; that it would justify the high-commission court; and that by the same authority, an ordinance might be published to eject freeholders out of their estates.

He complains, that the power of the commissioners is final, and admits of no appeal; that it looks back to crimes antecedent to the law for a twelvemonth; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future such offences shall be punished with deprivation.

That the commissioners who were to sit in judgment upon the clergy were all laymen, the ministers being called in only in cases of ignorance and insufficiency; that the ordinance admits of the oath of one witness, provided it be supported with other concurrent evidence, which is contrary to the laws of God and man.

That some crimes in the ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful nature; as how often a minister omitting to pray and preach in his pulpit should render

him negligent; and what should be deemed nonresidence. Above all, he complains that the public reading of the Common Prayer should be ranked with the sins of swearing and drunkenness, and be an evidence of a scandalous life and conversation; which observation was unquestionably just.

To give the reader an example or two of the proceedings of the commissioners: those for Berkshire summoned Dr. Pordage, rector of Bradfield, to appear before them at Speenham-Land, near Newbury, to answer to divers articles of blasphemy and heresy. After several days' hearing, and witnesses produced on both sides, the commissioners determined December 8, 1654, that the said doctor was guilty of denying the Deity of Christ; the merits of his precious blood and passion; and several other such-like opinions. It is farther declared under the hands of six of the commissioners, and a sufficient number of ministers their assistants, that the said doctor was ignorant, and insufficient for the work of the ministry; it is therefore ordered, that the said doctor be and he is hereby ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield, and the profits thereof; but the said commissioners do grant him time, till the 2d of February to remove himself, his family, his goods and chattels, out of the said parsonage-house; and farther time to remove his corn out of the barns, till the 23d of March.

The Oxford historian says, this Pordage was a doctor by Charentismus, and had been preacher of St. Lawrence-church in Reading before he came to Bradfield.* That he was a mystic enthusiast, and used to talk of the fiery Deity of Christ dwelling in the soul, and mixing itself with our flesh.† He dealt much in astrology, and pretended to converse with the world of spirits. After his ejection he wrote against the commissioners a pamphlet, entitled, Innocency appearing; which was answered by Mr. Christopher Fowler, vicar of St. Mary, Reading, in his *Dominium Meridianum*. However, the doctor was restored to his living at Bradfield at the Restoration.

* *Athene Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 450.

† Mr. Neal is not correct here. For, as Dr. Grey observes, this passage is not in the Oxford historian. It is probable that Mr. Neal took this charge against Dr. Pordage, either from his narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners, or from Mr. Fowler's animadversions: though, by not specifying his author, the reader is led to suppose that the whole paragraph is grounded on the representation of the Oxford historian. He, it should be also noticed, does not ascribe a skill in astrology to Dr. Pordage; but says, that "Mr. Ashmale commended him for his knowledge in, or great affection to, astronomy."—*Ed.*

The Wiltshire commissioners summoned Mr. Walter Bushnel, vicar of Box near Malmesbury, before them, to answer to a charge of drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government;* and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The vicar prepared for the press, "A narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by O. Cromwell for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, in the case of Walter Bushnel," &c. but it was not printed till the king's restoration; and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a reply, which they entitled, "A vindication of the Marlborough commissioners, by the commissioners themselves." And Dr. Chambers, who was reproached by the said Bushnel, did himself justice in a distinct vindication. However, the vicar was restored to his vicarage in a lump with the rest at the Restoration.

Upon the whole, the industrious Dr. Walker says, he can find no footsteps of the numbers of the clergy that were ejected by the commissioners, though he imagines they might be considerable. But I am well satisfied there were none of any considerable character; for there were not a great many zealous loyalists in livings at this time; and those that were had the wisdom to be silent about public affairs, while they saw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commissioners continued to act till some time after the protector's death, and were a greater terror to the fanatics and visionaries of those times, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.

The protector and his council passed another ordinance, August 30, for the service of Wales, appointing sir Hugh Owen, and about eighteen other commissioners, for the six counties of South Wales, with the county of Monmouth; and Matthew Morgan, with about twelve other commissioners, for the six counties of North Wales; any three of which were empowered to call before them all such who, by authority of the act for propagating the gospel in Wales, had received or disposed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, &c. in that principality; and to give an account upon oath, of all such rents and profits; and the sur-

* This last, Dr. Grey supposes, was the main reason; for Wood says, "he continued at Box in good esteem the greatest part of the interrupted times, but was at length ejected from his living in the reign of Oliver." *Athenæ Oxon*, vol. 2. p. 273. —ED.

plus money in the hands of the commissioners, to be paid into the exchequer.*

To set this affair before the reader in one view: the principality of Wales, by reason of the poverty of the people, and the small endowments of church-livings, was never well supplied with a learned or pious clergy; the people were generally very ignorant, and only one remove from Heathens. In 1641 a petition was presented to the king and parliament, which declares, that there were not so many conscientious and constant preachers in Wales as there were counties; and that these were either silenced or much persecuted.† The civil wars had made their condition worse; for as they generally adhered to the king, and received great numbers of Irish Papists into their country, their preachers went into his majesty's service, or fled from their cures, when the parliament-forces took possession of it. After the king's death the parliament passed the ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating of the preaching of the gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and for redress of some grievances; it bears date February 22, 1649, and empowers the commissioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and dispose of all and singular rents, issues, and profits, of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations, and glebe-lands, within the said counties, which then were or afterward should be under sequestration, or in the disposal of the parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly maintenance for such persons as should be recommended, and approved for the work of the ministry, or education of children; and for such other ministers as were then residing in the said counties. The ordinance to continue in force for three years, from March 25, 1650.

By virtue of this ordinance many clergymen were ejected, but not all, for in Montgomeryshire eleven or twelve remained, as did several in other counties; but all who were ejected for manifest scandal.‡ Afterward complaints being made, that the people were turning Papists or Heathens, for want of the word of God, several were sent into Montgomeryshire, where there were at least sixteen preachers,

* Scobel, p. 347.

† Calamy's Com. of Church and Dissenters, p. 47, note.

‡ Ibid. p. 47.

of which ten were university-men, the meanest of whom were approved and settled in parishes at the Restoration. The commissioners were empowered to examine into the behaviour of such as were reputed ignorant, insufficient, nonresident, scandalous, or enemies to the present government. And it being impossible to fill up the vacant livings with such as could preach in the Welsh language, the revenues were to be collected and brought into a common treasury, out of which 100*l.* per annum was to be given to sundry itinerant preachers in each county.

Dr. Walker says, that, from the account drawn up by the commissioners themselves in April 1652, it appears that there had been ejected in South Wales, and Monmouthshire, one hundred and seventy-five ministers ; that is, fifty-six from the year 1645 to the time when this act took place, and one hundred and nineteen by the present commissioners. Mr. Vavasor Powel, who had a chief hand in the sequestrations, says, that by virtue of this act between fifty and sixty of the old clergy were dispossessed of their livings when he wrote. Upon the whole, the commissioners, who continued to act as long as the protector lived, charge themselves with between three hundred and twenty and three hundred and thirty several and distinct livings ; but there could not be an equal number of sequestered clergymen, because in the compass of seven years a great many must die ; some fled, or were killed in the wars ; in many parishes the tithes were not duly paid by reason of the confusion of the times, and the livings being being but from 5 to 10 or 20*l.* a year, most of the incumbents were pluralists. It is computed that about one half of the church lands and revenues in the principality of Wales, by the several accidents of death, desertion, sequestration, &c. fell into the hands of the government before the expiration of this ordinance in 1653, the profits of which, if duly collected and paid, must amount to a very considerable sum. There were thirteen counties in North and South Wales within the limits of the commission ; but the largest sum that the sequestrators and agents charge themselves with for the county of Brecknock, in any one year, till the year 1658, when the propagation had subsisted eight years, is 1,543*l.* by which the reader may make a tolerable computation of

the whole ; and if we may believe Mr. Whitelocke,* who lived through these times, in the year 1653 there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week ; that in every market-town there was a schoolmaster, and in most great towns two able, learned, and university men ; and that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament,† there can be no great reason to complain of the negligence of the commissioners.

The crimes for which the old clergy were ejected, were, malignancy, insufficiency, drunkenness, and negligence of their cures. Mr. Vavasor Powel says, that of all the men they had put out in North Wales, he knew not any that had the power of godliness, and very few the form ; but that most of them were unpreaching curates, or scandalous in their morals. The commissioners affirm, that of the sixteen they had dispossessed in Cardiganshire, there were but three that were preachers, and those most scandalous livers. And Mr. Baxter admits, that they were all weak, and bad enough for the most part. But the writers on the other side say, that the commissioners had no regard to ability in preaching, or sobriety in conversation. And Dr. Walker thinks, the sequestered Welsh clergy need no other vindication than to let the world know, that many of them were graduates in the university ; as if every graduate must of course be possessed of all ministerial qualifications. There might possibly be some few pious and industrious preachers among the ejected Welsh clergy ; but they who will argue very strenuously in favour of the body of them, must know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

It was not in the power of the commissioners to find a succession of pious and learned preachers in the Welsh language ; but to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant preachers of university

* Memor. p. 518.

† These uses and the proportions of the appropriation were as follows: viz. The tithes were divided into six parts ; one of which went to the ejected ministers ; a second to other settled and itinerant ministers ; a third to maintain schools, of some of which the ejected ministers and their sons were masters ; a fourth to the widows and children of the ejected ministers ; a fifth to under-officers, as treasurers, solicitors, sequestrators, &c. ; and a sixth to the widows of ministers deceased. Whitelocke's Mem. p. 518 ; Calamy's Church and Dissenters Compared, p. 47, note.—Ed.

education for each county, to whom they allowed 100*l.* a year; besides which, they sent out thirty-two ministers, of whom twenty-four were university-men, and some of the rest good scholars; but these were too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their labours. To supply what was farther wanting, they approved of several gifted laymen, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and assist the people's devotions, and to these they allowed from 17 to 20*l.* per annum. In an article of the sequestrators' accounts there appears 340*l.* per annum distributed among godly members of the church of Lanvaches, and Mynthists Loyn, who had been sent out to exercise their gifts among the Welsh mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the same quality were approved by the commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr. Powel says, that some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the propagators.* But after all, it must be confessed, that at first the number of itinerants, both scholars and others, was by no means equal to their work; the parishes in that mountainous country are large and wide, and there being but one itinerant to several of those parishes, the people must have been neglected, and their children too much without instruction; but this was owing to the necessity of the times.

When the commissioners had acted about two years, a petition was presented to the parliament by the inhabitants of South Wales, signed by above a thousand hands, in favour of the old ejected clergy, setting forth the numbers that had been dispossessed, and the want of a competent number of preachers in their places, upon which account the country was reduced to a very miserable condition. They therefore pray the house to take some course for a future supply of godly and able preachers; and to call those persons to account who had received all the profits of church-livings into their hands.† The house received the petition, and referred it to the committee for plundered ministers, who were empowered to examine witnesses, and to authorize other commissioners in the country to examine witnesses upon oath, touching the matters contained in the petition. The committee ordered the com-

* Calamy's Comp. p. 48.

† Walker, p. 168.

missioners to bring in their accounts in a month's time, which they did accordingly. And the petitioners were ordered to deliver in the particulars on which the desired witnesses might be examined within two days ; but not being provided, they desired liberty to make good their allegations in the country ; to which the commissioners willingly agreed. But this taking up some time, the long-parliament was dissolved, and the prosecution of this inquiry suspended for the present ; but as soon as the protector was fixed in his government, he published an ordinance, August 20, 1654, to bring the propagators to an account ; pursuant to which the sequestrators and treasurer for South Wales delivered in their accounts for the years 1650, 1651, 1652, which was all the time the ordinance continued in force ; and the commissioners appointed by the protector having received and examined them, after a full inquiry allowed and passed them, August 10, 1655.

It is hard to read with temper the reproaches cast upon these commissioners by our angry historians, who have charged them with all manner of corruption, as if they had got great estates out of the revenues of the church, though without producing a single example. Mr. Powel, who took more pains among them than any man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in Wales, by salary, above 6 or 700*l.* that he never had any thing from the tithes. And whereas it was said, that he had enriched himself by purchasing some thousands a year of crown-lands, he protests, that he never purchased above 70*l.* a year, which he lost at the Restoration.* And if Mr. Powel did not enrich himself, I apprehend none of his brethren could. Besides, if this had been true, the protector's commissioners would have discovered them ; or if they had escaped the protector's inquiry, their enemies would have exposed them at the Restoration, when king Charles appointed a commis-

* Mr. Powel vindicated his character in two publications : one entitled *Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris*, 1651 : wherein he was cleared by the authentic certificates of persons of great credit, and many of them gentlemen of good landed property : the other called, "The Bird in the Cage chirping : or a Brief Narrative of the former propagation and late restriction of the Gospel in Wales," 12mo. 1661. The author of his life, in 1671, says, "that he received nothing from the churches in Wales but neighbourly and brotherly kindness. The parliament ordered him 100*l.* per annum, out of a sinecure, whereof he received about 60*l.* for seven or eight years : many considerable gifts he refused ; and never did he get any thing by the act for the propagation of the gospel in Wales." *Life*, p. 112 ; Calamy's *Church and Dissenters Compared*, p. 47, 48, note.—ED.

sion to make the strictest inquiry into their management. "All persons who had acted as commissioners for propagating the gospel, were by his majesty's instructions to be summoned before his commissioners; and all that had acted under them as farmers, tenants, &c. all that had succeeded in the sequestered livings, or received any of the profits; all parishioners, who had kept any of the tithes in their hands; the heirs, executors, or administrators, of any of the aforesaid persons; and all credible persons, who could give evidence of any of these matters. They were likewise to inquire after books and writings; and to signify to all persons concerned, that if they would forthwith apply to his majesty's commissioners, they might compound for what they stood charged with, and so avoid the expense of a law-suit." But after all this mighty outcry and scrutiny, nothing of any consequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the commission, and bury the whole affair in silence. Mr. Vavasor Powel, above mentioned, was cruelly handled by the Welsh clergy, but he did himself justice in a pamphlet, entitled, *Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris*, published 1653, wherein he vindicates his proceedings in the propagation.* And when he was in the Fleet after the Restoration, he published a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the commissioners in Wales against the ejected clergy occasioned by a report that he had been thrown into that prison for some of the revenues; which was never answered.

By an ordinance of September 2, commissioners were appointed to inquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings and benefices without cure of souls; what person or persons received the profits, and who was the patron; and to certify the same into chancery; and if, upon a careful consideration of things, it shall be found convenient and advantageous to unite two parishes or more into one, and that the whole ecclesiastical revenues, tithes, and profits, belonging to the said parishes so united, should be applied for a provision for one godly and painful minister, to preach in the said united parishes, then the trustees, or commissioners appointed by this act, shall represent the same to his highness and council, upon whose approbation they shall, by an instrument under the hands and seals of any

* Walker, p. 149.

five or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite such parishes into one; which instrument being enrolled in chancery, the said parishes from thenceforth shall be adjudged and taken to be consolidated into one. If there happen to be more patrons than one in the parishes thus united, the patrons shall present by turns; but the union shall not take place till the avoidance of one of the livings by the death of the incumbent.*

On the other hand, where parishes were too large, the trustees for the augmentation of poor livings were empowered to divide them into two, or more, upon their avoidance by death.

Farther, if, when two or more parishes were united into one, the income or salary did not amount to 100*l.* per annum, the trustees for receiving impropriations, tithes, first-fruits, and tenths, &c. were directed to make up the deficiency; and where there was a considerable surplus, they might take off the augmentations formerly granted: provided this ordinance be not construed to restrain the said trustees from granting augmentations to preachers in cities and market-towns, where there shall be cause, to a greater proportion, with the consent of the protector and his council. This was a noble and generous design; and if the protector had lived to have seen it executed, must have been of general service to the body of the clergy.

Though his highness himself was no great scholar, he was a patron of learning and learned men.† He settled 100*l.* a year on a divinity-professor in Oxford; and gave twenty-four rare manuscripts to the Bodleian library. He erected and endowed a college in Durham for the benefit of the northern counties, Mr. Frankland, M. A. being one of the first fellows. But these, and some other designs that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.‡

In order to secure the education of youth he took care to regulate both universities, by appointing new visitors,

* Scobel, p. 353.

† To the proofs which Mr. Neal produces of the patronage Cromwell afforded to learning, may be added, that he permitted the paper of Dr. Walton's Polyglott to be imported free of duty; and that when, through his pre-engagement to another, Dr. Seth Ward, afterward bishop of Exeter, lost the principalship of Jesus-college in Oxford, in 1567: on being informed of his merit and learning he promised him an annuity equal to the value of the principalship. Dr. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 429—431; and Calamy's *Life of Mr. Howe*, p. 19.—Ed.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 588.

the former ceasing with the dissolution of the long parliament, viz.

*For the University of Oxford.**

The vice-chancellor for the time being.

Dr. Harris, president of Trinity-college	Mr. Francis Howell, fellow of Exeter-college
Dr. Rogers, principal of New-Inn hall	William, viscount Say and Seal
Dr. T. Goodwin, president of Magdalen-college	Nathaniel Fiennes, esq.
Dr. John Owen, dean of Christ-church	Bulstrode Whitelocke, comm. of the great seal
Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Margaret-professor of divinity	Samuel Dunch, esq.
Dr. Peter French, prebend of Christ-church	Sir John Dreyden
Dr. John Comant, rector of Exeter-college	Richard Ingoldsby,
Dr. John Goddard, warden of Merton-college	John Crew,
Mr. Thankful Owen, president of St. John's	George Fleetwood, } esqrs.
Mr. Stephens, principal of Hart-hall	John Bright,
Mr. James Baron, of Magdalen-college	——— Jenkinson,
	——— Greenfield.*

For the University of Cambridge

The vice-chancellor for the time being.

Dr. Tuckney, master of St. John's college	Mr. Wood, fellow of Magdalen-college
Dr. Arrowsmith, master of Trinity-college	Henry Cromwell
Dr. Horton, president of Queen's-college	Henry Lawrence, lord president of his highness's council
Dr. Sam. Bolton, master of Christ's college	J. Lambert, } esqrs.
Dr. Law. Seaman, master of Peter-house	J. Desborough, }
Dr. Lightfoot, master of Katherine-hall	Sir Gilbert Pickering
Mr. John Sadler, master of Magdalen-college	Col. Ed. Montague
Dr. Whichcote	Francis Rouse, esq.
Dr. Cudworth	Oliver St. John, lord-chief-justice of the common-pleas
Mr. Worthington, master of Jesus-college	J. Thurloe,
Mr. Dillingham, master of Emanuel-college	Robert Castle, } esqrs.
Mr. Simpson, master of Pembroke-hall	Tho. Bendish, }
Mr. Templer, fellow of Trinity-college	Rob. Viner,
Mr. Mowbrey, fellow of St. John's college	Griffith Lloyd, }
Mr. William Moses, fellow of Pembroke-hall	Sir William Strickland.

Any seven or more of the commissioners above named were authorized to visit all colleges and halls within their respective universities; to examine what statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the same to his highness and the parliament. They are farther authorized, to explain such statutes as are ambiguous and obscure; to determine appeals; and are to be assisted upon all occasions by the mayor, sheriffs, and justices of peace. The said visitors, or any four of them, are authorized to visit Westminster-school, Winchester-school, Merchant-Taylors' school, and Eton-college; and to consider of such statutes

* Scobel, p. 366.

† Add, from Grey, sir Charles Wolseley, bart. and Humphrey Mackworth, esq.

of the said schools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added, for the well-government of the said schools and colleges.

The visitors discharged their duty with great fidelity; and the heads of colleges had a watchful eye over their several houses; drunkenness, swearing, gaming, and all kinds of immorality, were severely punished; all students, graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours; the public-houses were searched; and the practice of religion in the several colleges enforced with rigour. One of the professors writes, that there was more frequent practical preaching in the colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day, at different hours, there were three or four sermons in several churches; and on the week-days, lectures on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. The tutors were very diligent in discharge of their duty; the public lectures were well attended, and the students under strict discipline; learning revived, and the muses returned to their seats, as appears by the numbers of learned men that flourished in the reign of king Charles II. who owed their education to these times.

The protector's zeal for the welfare of the Protestant churches abroad deserves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign countries.* He took all imaginable care to appear at the head of that interest on all occasions, and to shew his power in protecting them. The prince of Tarente having written a respectful letter to the protector, his highness returned him the following answer: "that it was with extreme pleasure he had learned by letters his inviolable zeal and attachment to the reformed churches, for which his praise was the greater, inasmuch as he shewed that zeal at a time and in a place where such flattering hopes were given to persons of his rank, if they would forsake the orthodox faith; and where those who continued steadfast are threatened with so many troubles. He rejoices that his own conduct in religion was so pleasing to him; he calls God to witness, that he desired nothing so much as an opportunity to answer the favourable opinion the churches have of his zeal and piety, by endeavouring to propagate the true faith, and procure rest and peace for the church. He exhorts the prince to hold out firm to the end

* History of the Stuarts, p. 423.

in the orthodox religion which he received from his fathers; and adds, that nothing would bring him greater glory, than to protect it as much as lay in his power." What projects the protector formed for this purpose will be seen hereafter.

But the royal interest abroad was inclining towards Popery; the duke of York was already perverted to the Romish faith;* no attempts were unessayed by the queen-mother, the queen of France, and others, to gain the young duke of Gloucester, who had been under the instruction of parliamentary tutors till the last year:† but this young prince was too well established in his religion to be perverted at present,‡ upon which the queen forbade him her presence; and the marquis of Ormond conducted him to his brother at Cologne. The king was a man of no religion, and having little to do, devoted his leisure hours to the ladies, and other private pleasures. His majesty had some trial (says bishop Kennet§) of his conscience and courage in resisting the little arguments, or rather importunities, of Popery. The Papists put him in mind, that all his hopes from the Protestant party were at an end; that the bishops were dead, except a very few; and the church-lands sold; and that since the late defeat at Worcester the Presbyterian power was destroyed; all his hopes therefore must be from the Roman Catholics, from whose assistance only he could now hope for his restoration. But the prospect was so distant, that the king, by advice of lord Clarendon, was prevailed with not to declare himself openly at present.

On the last of November died the learned Mr. John Selden, the glory of the English nation:¶ he was born in Sussex December 6, 1584, and educated in Hart-hall, Oxford; after which he was transplanted to the Inner-Temple, where he became a prodigy in the most uncommon parts of science. He was a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist,

* Compl. Hist. p. 203.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 599.

‡ The manner of expression used by Mr. Neal may lead the reader, Dr. Grey observes, to think, that the duke of Gloucester was at last perverted: which he apprehends was not the case. For Echard affirms, that the duke was an invincible assertor of his father's faith: and Carte represents him as withstanding the arguments of the abbot of Pontoise, and rejecting the offers of a cardinal's hat, and even the promise of placing him on the throne. But, on the other hand, Oldmixon assures his reader, on the authority of a minister of state, a man of known wisdom and probity, who was a particular favourite with the prince of Orange, at the Hague, from whose mouth he had the information, that the duke was afterward reconciled to the church of Rome. Grey, vol. 3. p. 175. History of the Stuarts, p. 489.—Ed.

§ Compl. Hist. p. 213.

¶ Athenæ Oxon. vol. 2. p. 107, 108.

statesman, and lawyer, but seldom appeared at the bar. He was chosen Burgess for several parliaments, where he displayed his profound erudition in speeches and debates in favour of the liberties of his country; for which he was imprisoned, and severely fined with Mr. Pym in the parliament of 1618 and 1628. He was chosen again in the long-parliament, and appeared against the prerogative, as he had formerly done. He was one of the lay members of the assembly of divines, and by his vast skill in the oriental learning, and Jewish antiquities, frequently silenced the most able divines. He wrote on various subjects, which gained him the title among foreigners of the dictator of learning in the English nation.* Among other remarkable pieces, we may reckon his *History of Tithes*, published 1618, in which he proves them not to be due to the Christian clergy by divine institution: for this he was summoned before the high-commission court, and obliged to make a public recantation.† But after some time his reputation was so great, that it was thought worth while to gain him over to the court; and upon the new civilities he received at Lambeth, he was prevailed with to publish his *Mare Clausum* against Hugo Grotius, which was esteemed such an invaluable treasure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the court of records. The archbishop offered him preferments, but he would accept of nothing. Upon the first pressures against the bishops, he published his *Eutychius* in Greek and Latin, with notes, in which he proves that bishops and presbyters differ only in degree. He afterward answered his majesty's declaration about the commission of array, and was made mas-

* It does honour to Grotius, his antagonist, that he pronounced Mr. Selden to be "the glory of the English nation." Like a man of genius, he was for striking out new paths of learning, and enlarging the territories of science. The greater part of his works are on uncommon subjects. But towards the close of life he saw the emptiness of all human learning; and owned, that, out of the numberless volumes he had read and digested, nothing stuck so close to his heart, or gave him such solid satisfaction, as a single passage of Paul's Epistles: Tit. ii. 11—14. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 2. p. 228, 229, 8vo.—Ed.

† It is judiciously remarked by Le Clerc, that it was great impolicy in the church and court party to offend and irritate such a man as Selden: a man of deep learning, not in Jewish antiquities only, but in those of his own country, the laws of which he understood to their first grounds. Such persons ought at all times to be courted and favoured, on account of the great use which may be made of them on all occasions; but especially in seasons of public discontents, when they can turn the balance on the side which they join. Whereas it generally happens, that they are ill-treated, and the court-favours are bestowed on those only who are fit for nothing but to feed on a great benefice, or a good pension. It would have been more wise to have secured Selden, since he was by no means a fanatic, as many places in his *Table-talk* shew; and even was partial to the old ecclesiastical government, in opposition to those who often set it at nought. *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. 6. p. 253.—Ed.

ter of the rolls by the long-parliament. He had a large and curious library of books: in the frontispiece of each he used to write this motto, *Περὶ παντὸς ἐλευθερίαν*; Above all, liberty. At length being worn out with age and hard study, he died at his house in the Whitefriars, aged seventy years, and was magnificently interred in the Temple-church on the south side of the round walk, according to the Directory, in the presence of all the judges, some parliament-men, benchers, and great officers. His funeral sermon was preached by archbishop Usher, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his books after him. His works are lately collected, and printed together in six volumes folio.

Mr. Thomas Gataker was born in London 1574, and was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. and was afterward removed to Sidney-college, where he became remarkable for his skill in the Hebrew and Greek languages.* After his ordination he was chosen minister of Lincoln's-Inn, and occupied that station ten years; but in the year 1611 he was presented to the rectory of Rotherhithe, where he continued till his death. In the year 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the earl of Manchester visited and reformed the university of Cambridge, he offered Mr. Gataker the mastership of Trinity-college, but he refused it on account of his health. Mr. Gataker was a very learned man, and a considerable critic and linguist, as appears by his writings, which were very numerous, considering his infirm state of health. He was a constant preacher, of a most holy and exemplary deportment, but withal of great modesty. It is hard, says Mr. Echard, to say, which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments. He maintained a correspondence with Salmasius, Hornbeck, and other learned foreigners, and was in high esteem both at home and in the Low Countries, where he had travelled. He died of age, and a complication of infirmities, July 27, 1654, in the eightieth year of his age.†

* Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 248, &c. of the Lives.

† The most celebrated of his works is a valuable edition of Marcus Antoninus, with a Latin translation and commentary, and a preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the Stoics, which is much esteemed. His house was a private seminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners resorted to him, and lodged at

Mr. William Strong was educated in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow. He was afterward rector of More-Crichel in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the cavaliers;* he then came to London, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Dunstan's in the west. After some time he became preacher at Westminster-abbey, where he died suddenly in the vigour of life, and was buried in the Abbey-church July 4, 1654. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Ob. Sedgwick, who says, that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so exact in preaching, and in a word, so fit for all the parts of the ministerial service, that he did not know his equal. But after the Restoration his bones were dug up, and removed to St. Margaret's churchyard, with those of other eminent Presbyterian divines. He published several sermons and theological treatises in his lifetime; and after his death there was a posthumous one upon the covenants, in the preface to which Mr. Theophilus Gale observes, that the author was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for his deep insight into the more profound mysteries of the gospel. His thoughts were sublime, but clear and penetrating, especially in interpreting difficult texts.

Mr. Andrew Perna was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to Welby in Northamptonshire, where he maintained the character of a zealous, laborious, and successful preacher, for twenty-seven years. In the year 1643, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. When he was at London he was offered several considerable preferments, but refused them, resolving to return to his people at Welby, who honoured him as a father; for by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, he accomplished a great reformation of manners in that town. He was full of spiritual warmth, says the preacher of his funeral sermon, filled with a holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than in the pulpit. As his life was holy, so his death was comfortable. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone, often crying out, in his last

his house in order to receive from him advice in their studies. *British Biography*, vol. 4. p. 354, note.—Ed.

* *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 218.

sickness, "When will that hour come? One assault more, and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God." He died the beginning of December, 1654, before he was arrived to the age of sixty.

Dr. Samuel Bolton was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to the living of St. Martin's, Ludgate. Upon his coming to the city he was chosen one of the additional members of the assembly of divines, being a person of great name and character for learning and practical preaching. He was a burning and shining light, says Mr. Clarke,* an interpreter one of a thousand, an admirable preacher, and his life was an excellent commentary upon his sermons. Upon the death of Dr. Bainbrigge he was chosen master of Christ's college, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence till his death, which happened about the 10th of October, 1654. He was buried with great solemnity in his parish-church of Ludgate on the 16th of the same month, very much lamented by the London clergy of those times.

Mr. Jer. Whitaker was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, 1599, and educated in Sidney-college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He taught the free-school at Okeham in Rutlandshire seven years, and then became minister of Stretton in the same county, where he continued thirteen years. In 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, which brought him to London, where he was chosen to the rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in Southwark. He preached three or four sermons every week; two in Southwark, one at Westminster, and one at Christ-church, London. He never withdrew from any opportunity of preaching if he was in health; and though he preached often, his sermons were solid and judicious. He was a universal scholar, both in arts and languages; well acquainted with the fathers and school-men, an acute disputant, and inferior to none in his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures.† He was of the Presbyterian persuasion, and had a chief hand in composing the *Defence of the Gospel Ministry*, published this year by the provincial synod of London. He refused the engagement, and lamented the wars between England, Scotland, and Holland. No man was more beloved by the Presbyterian ministers of London

* *Lives of Eminent Persons*, p. 43.

† *Clarke's General Martyrology*, in the *Lives*, p. 264.

than Mr. Whitaker. When he was seized with the violent and acute pain of the stone about the beginning of November, many days of prayer and fasting were observed for his recovery, but the distemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to dishonour God by unreasonable complaints. When his distemper was most violent he would desire his friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length nature being quite spent, he cheerfully resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty-fifth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Calamy, who gave him a large and deserved encomium.

Mr. Richard Vines, of whom mention has been made already, was born at Blazon in Leicestershire, and educated in Magdalen-college, Cambridge, where he commenced M. A. He was first schoolmaster at Hinckley, then minister of Weddington in Warwickshire. At the beginning of the civil war he was driven from his parish, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. When the assembly of divines was convened he was chosen one of their number; and, as Fuller says,* was the champion of their party. While he was at London he became minister of St. Clement's Danes; afterward he removed to Watton in Hertfordshire, and was chosen master of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, but resigned that, and his living of St. Lawrence-Jewry, on account of the engagement. He was a son of thunder, and therefore compared to Luther; but moderate and charitable to those who differed from him in judgment. The parliament employed him in all their treaties with the king; and his majesty, though of a different judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, seldom speaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. Vines returned with most respectful language and gestures. He was an admirable scholar; holy and pious in his conversation, and indefatigable in his labours, which wasted his strength, and brought him into a consumption, when he had lived but about fifty-six years. He was buried in his own parish-church, February 7, 1655, his funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Jacomb, who gave him his just commendation. He was a perfect master of the Greek tongue, a good philologist, and an admirable disputant. He was a thorough Calvinist, and a bold honest man without pride.

* Fuller's Worthies, p. 134.

or flattery.* Mr. Newcomen calls him "*disputator acutissimus, concionatur felicissimus, theologus eximius.*" Many funeral poems and elegies were published on his death.†

The protector having dissolved his second parliament without confirming their acts, was obliged still to rely on the military arm; this, together with the insurrections in several parts of the country, induced him, for his greater security, to canton the nation into eleven districts, and place over them major-generals, whose commission it was to inspect the behaviour of the inferior commissioners within their districts; to commit to prison all suspected persons; to take care of collecting the public taxes; and to sequester such as did not pay their decimation. They were to inquire after all private assemblies of suspected persons, and after such as bought up arms; after vagabonds and idle persons; after such as lived at a higher rate than they could afford; after such as frequented taverns and gaming-houses, and after scandalous and unlearned ministers and schoolmasters; and there was no appeal from them but to the protector and his council. They were ordered to list a body of reserves both horse and foot at half-pay, who were to be called together upon any sudden emergency, and to attend so many days at their own expense, but if they were detained longer to have full pay; by which means the protector had a second army in view, if any disaster should befall the first; but these officers became so severe and arbitrary, that his highness found it necessary after some time to reduce their power, and when affairs were a little more settled to dissolve them.

Having provided for the security of his government at home, the protector concluded an alliance with France, October 23, in which it is remarkable that Lewis XIV. is not allowed to style himself king of France, but king of the

* Dr. Grey insinuates a reflection on Mr. Vines's simplicity and integrity, by a story of his praying in the morning of an Easter Sunday, before the marquis of Hertford, for the king's restoration to his throne and regal rights; but, in the afternoon, when the marquis was absent, and lord Fairfax came to church, praying, in *stylo parliamentario*, that God would turn the heart of the king, and give him grace to repent of his grievous sins, especially all the blood shed in those civil, uncivil wars. On which it was observed, that Mr. Vines was much more altered between the forenoon and afternoon, than the difference between an English marquis and an Irish baron. The reader, perhaps, will think, that each prayer might very consistently be formed by the same person. Not a week before Mr. Vines's death, as he was preaching at St. Gregory's, a rude fellow cried out to him, "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you:" to whom Mr. Vines returned, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder." Fuller's Worthies, p. 446, 8vo. edition, 1684.—Ed.

† Clarke's Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 48.

French, his highness claiming the protectorship of that kingdom among his other titles; and, which is more surprising, the name of Oliver stands in the treaty before that of the French king. At the same time he sent admiral Blake with a fleet into the Mediterranean, who spread the terror of the English name all over Italy, even to Rome itself; processions being made, and the host exposed for forty hours, to avert the judgments of Heaven, and preserve the patrimony of the church. But Blake's commission was only to demand 60,000*l.* of the duke of Tuscany, for damages sustained by the English merchants while he harboured prince Rupert, which he paid immediately. The admiral released all the English slaves on the coast of Barbary to the number of four hundred, and obtained satisfaction for the ships taken by the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, &c. Upon the whole he brought home sixteen ships laden with booty, which sailed up the river Thames to the port of London, as a grateful spectacle of triumph to the people.

While Blake was in the Mediterranean, admiral Pen and Venables, with thirty men-of-war and some land-forces sailed to the West-Indies, with a design to surprise the town of Hispaniola; but miscarrying in the attempt, they re-embarked and took possession of the island of Jamaica, which is in possession of the crown of Great Britain to this day.

The protector did not commission Blake to assault the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, because there was no open rupture between the two nations in Europe; but the West-Indies not being included in the treaty, he thought himself at liberty in those parts: which occasioned a declaration of war, on the part of Spain, with all the English dominions; upon which Blake was ordered to cruise upon the Spanish coasts, and to wait for the return of the Plate-fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next summer.

To support these additional expenses, the protector, by advice of his council, raised some extraordinary taxes before the parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to justify, upon any other foot than "the absolute necessity of the public safety; the distracted condition of the nation; that it was impracticable in the present juncture to call a parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary course of law; and that in extraordinary cases, wherein all

was at stake, some extraordinary methods were allowable." How far this reasoning will excuse the protector, or vindicate his conduct, must be left with the reader. But it is agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very being of his government, he never interposed, but let the laws have their free course. He had a zeal for trade and commerce beyond all his predecessors, and appointed a standing committee of merchants for advancing it, which met for the first time in the painted chamber November 27, 1655, and continued to his death.

The provincial assembly of London, finding their attempts to establish their discipline ineffectual, employed themselves this year in promoting the religious education of youth; for which purpose they published an exhortation to catechising; with the following directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

1. "That the ministers on some Lord's day prove in their sermons the necessity and usefulness of such a work, and exhort all parents, and masters of families, to prepare their children and servants for it, by catechising them at home, that they may more readily make their answers in public.

2. "That the catechism to be used be the lesser catechism of the assembly of divines. This catechism excelling all others in this respect, that every answer is a perfect proposition without the question.

3. "That the persons to be catechised be children and servants, that have not been admitted to the Lord's supper by the eldership.

4. "That the time of catechising be on the Lord's day in the afternoon, before the sermon, to the end that the whole congregation may receive benefit thereby.

5. "That the catechism may be explained briefly, at the first going over, that the people may in a short time have a notion of the whole body of divinity.

6. "That the parish be desired at the common charge, to provide catechisms for the poorer sort, who cannot well provide for themselves, and that the distribution of them be referred to the respective ministers.

7. "It is desired, that an account in writing, what progress is made in the premises may be returned from the

classes to the provincial assembly within forty days after the receipt hereof.

“ Signed in the name and by the appointment of the assembly,

“ Edmund Calamy, moderator.

“ William Harrison, } scribes.”
“ William Blackmore, }

These instructions were sent to the several classes of London; and after their example, the associated ministers in the several counties of England published the like exhortations to their brethren.

The occasion of this proceeding was the publishing two catechisms of Mr. John Biddle, a Socinian, one called a Scripture Catechism; and the other, a Brief Scripture Catechism, for the Use of Children. Complaints of which being made to the last parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be imprisoned in the Gate-house. Mr. Biddle had been in custody for his opinions before the late king's death. While he was there, he had published twelve questions or arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit, in quarto, 1647, which were answered by Mr. Pool, and the book ordered to be burnt. Next year, being still in prison, he published seven articles against the Deity of Christ, with the testimonies of several of the fathers on this head; upon which some zealous in the assembly moved, that he might be put to death as a heretic; but he went on, and being set at liberty, in the year 1651, he composed and published the catechisms above mentioned, in which he maintains, “ (1.) That God is confined to a certain place. (2.) That he has a bodily shape. (3.) That he has passions. (4.) That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to believe three persons in the Godhead. (6.) That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship. (7.) That he was not a priest while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God. And, (8.) That there is no Deity in the Holy Ghost.” These propositions* were con-

* Mr. Biddle was a pious, holy, and humble man; a conscientious sufferer for what appeared to him divine and important truth. The propositions objected to him above do not appear in his catechisms under the form of principles which he asserts, but of questions, which he proposes, and the answers to which are numerous texts of Scripture, that appear to speak to the point. E. g. The first proposition is this question:

demned by the parliament, and the author committed to the Gate-house. But as soon as the protector had dissolved his parliament he gave him his liberty.

After this, being of a restless spirit,* he challenged Mr. Griffin, a Baptist preacher, to dispute with him in St. Paul's cathedral, on this question, "Whether Jesus Christ be the Most High, or Almighty God?" This occasioning new disturbances, the council committed him to Newgate; but the protector thought it best to send him out of the way, and accordingly transported him to Scilly, and allowed him one hundred crowns a year for his maintenance. Here he remained till the year 1658, when the noise being over he was set at liberty; his catechisms having been answered by Dr. Owen, in a learned and elaborate treatise, entitled, *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c.

After the protector's death, Biddle set up a private conventicle in London, which continued till the Restoration, when the church being restored to its coercive power, he was apprehended while preaching, and committed to prison, where he died in September 1662, and was buried in the burying-ground in Old Bedlam. He had such a prodigious memory (says Wood), that he could repeat all St. Paul's Epistles in Greek, and was reckoned by those of his persuasion a sober man, and so devout, that he seldom prayed without lying prostrate on the ground.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the protector was averse to all acts of severity on the account of religion, yet such was the turbulent behaviour of the royalists, who threatened an assassination,

"Is not God, according to the current of the Scripture, in a certain place, namely, in heaven?" The answer consists of twenty-nine passages of Scripture, which represent God, as "looking from heaven, as our Father who art in heaven," and the like. For a full account of these catechisms I would refer the reader to my Review of the Life, Character, and Writings, of Mr. John Biddle, section 8.—Ed.

* It is to be regretted, that Mr. Neal should speak in this manner of one, who thought it his duty, by the fair and peaceable means of preaching and writing, to advance and disseminate sentiments which he judged to be the truths of Scripture, and only called men to inquire and examine. Such language fixes a stigma upon the honest advocate for truth, and is the illiberal cry of those who cannot bear to have established opinions attacked. The first teachers of Christianity were reproached as men of restless spirits; as men who "would turn the world upside down," *Ac. xvii. 6*.—In the present case, the term was not deserved, Mr. Neal has misstated the transaction. Mr. Biddle was not the first in the business. The challenge came from Mr. Griffin, and Mr. Biddle waived accepting it, and declined the disputation for some time. And when he entered the lists, there were in the auditory many of his bitter and fiery adversaries. See Review of his Life, p. 117, 118; or a modern Collection of Unitarian Tracts, in 12mo. vol. 4. p. 91.—Ed.

published the most daring libels against the government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it necessary to crush them, and therefore an order was published November 24, "That no persons after January 1, 1655—6, shall keep in their houses or families as chaplains or schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster, nor permit their children to be taught by such. That no such persons shall keep school either publicly or privately, nor preach in any public place, or private meeting, of any others than those of his own family; nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, on pain of being prosecuted, according to the orders lately published by his highness and council, for securing the peace of the commonwealth. Nevertheless his highness declares, that towards such of the said persons as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given, or hereafter shall give, a real testimony of their godliness, and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of the nation."*

This was a severe and terrible order† upon the Episcopalians, and absolutely unjustifiable in itself; but the title of the act, which is "An ordinance for securing the peace of the commonwealth," as well as the last clause, shews it was made for the safety of the government, against a number of men who were undermining it, and was published chiefly *in terrorem*, for no person was prosecuted upon it; and the parliament which met next year, not confirming it, it became absolutely void.

Dr. Gauden presented a petitionary remonstrance to the protector against this order; and archbishop Usher was desired to use his interest with his highness in behalf of the Episcopal clergy; upon which, says the writer of the archbishop's life,‡ the protector promised either to recall his declaration, or prevent its being put in execution, provided the clergy were inoffensive in their language and ser-

* Hughes's Exact Abridgment of Public Acts and Ordinances, 4to. p. 597.

† "It would be useless (says Dr. Harris) to spend words in exposing the crassity of this declaration. Persecution is written on the face of it, nor is it capable of a vindication." *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 438.—Ed.

‡ *Parr's Life of Usher*, p. 75.

mons, and stood clear in meddling with matters of state. His highness accordingly laid the matter before his council, who were of opinion,* that it was not safe for him to recall his declaration, and give open liberty to men who were declared enemies to his government, but that he should suspend the execution of it as far as their behaviour should deserve; so that in the event there was no great cause of complaint; for notwithstanding this ordinance, the sober Episcopal clergy preached publicly in the churches, at London and in the country, as Dr. Hall, afterward bishop of Chester, Dr. Ball, Dr. Wild, Dr. Hardy, Dr. Griffith, Dr. Pearson bishop of Chester, and others. Remarkable are the words of bishop Kennet to this purpose; "It is certain (says his lordship) that the protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government, and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect on the account of heresy and falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet; and even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church. Dr. Gunning, afterward bishop of Ely, kept a conventicle in London, in as open a manner as dissenters did after the toleration; and so did several other episcopal divines."†

For the same reasons his highness girt the laws close upon the Papists, not upon account of their religion, but because they were enemies to his government; for in the month of May a proclamation was published for the better executing the laws against Jesuits and priests, and for the conviction of Popish recusants; the reasons of which the protector

* On this ground when the lord-primate went to him a second time to get the promise which the protector on the first application had made of taking off these restraints, ratified and put into writing, he retracted his engagement, which both grieved and irritated the archbishop. He had, indeed, good reason to be displeased. By this it appears, that Mr. Neal's statement above is not accurate. The ordinance was executed: and though some worthy Episcopalians were permitted to officiate, it cannot be doubted but many innocent and worthy men must have received very hard measure. The ordinance was marked with horrid severity: and it is "a barbarous thing to prohibit men the use of those forms of address to the Deity, which they imagine are most honourable and acceptable to him." Besides, men ought not to suffer in their most valuable and inalienable rights on suspicion; and instead of being amenable for overt acts, be punished, as it were, for crimes they have never committed. This is injustice and cruelty: has its origin in fear and the consciousness of oppressive government: and tends to make the government, which it would protect from danger, odious and hateful. Grey's Remarks, vol. 3. p. 177, 178. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 438, 439.—Ed.

† Conf. Plea, part 4. p. 510. Compl. Hist. p. 223.

gives in his declaration of October 31, published with the advice of his council, in these words; "Because it was not only commonly observed, but there remains with us somewhat of proof, that Jesuits have been found among discontented parties of this nation, who are observed to quarrel and fall out with every form of administration in church and state."* The protector gave notice of the like kind to the republicans, fifth monarchy men, levellers, and to the Presbyterians, that they should stand upon the same foot with royalists, in case of any future delinquencies.

Such was the protector's latitude, that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for liberty of their religion, and for carrying on a trade in London. Manasseh Ben Israel, one of their chief rabbies, with some others, came from Amsterdam to Whitehall for this purpose, whom the protector treated with respect, and summoned an assembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants, to consult upon the affair.† The divines were to consider it as a case of conscience; the lawyers to report how far it was consistent with the laws of England; and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce. Bishop Burnet apprehends, that the protector designed the Jews for spies in the several nations of Europe; however, he was of opinion, that their admission under certain limitation might be for the advantage of commerce; and told the divines, that since there was a promise in Holy Scripture of the conversion of the Jews, he did not know but the preaching of the Christian religion, as it was then in England, without idolatry or superstition, might conduce to it. But the assembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropped, and the petitioners returned to Holland, where Manasseh Ben Israel wrote a handsome letter, now before me, which he calls, "An answer to certain questions propounded by a noble and learned gentleman, touching the reproaches cast upon the nation of the Jews, wherein all objections are candidly and fully stated." The famous Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Dury a Presbyterian minister, wrote fiercely against the admission of the Jews; but other divines,

* Compl. Hist. p. 255, in marg.

† It is a proof of the protector's good dispositions towards this business, and of his respect for the rabbi who came to negotiate it, that, by an order of the 24th of March 1655, he directed 200*l.* to be paid to him out of the treasury. *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 673.—Ed.

whom the protector consulted, were for admitting them with some limitations. I shall report their resolution on this point in their own language.

Question, Whether the Jews, at their desire, may be admitted into this nation to traffic and dwell among us, as Providence shall give occasion?

The answer of those who were against it was, that they could not think it lawful for the following reasons:

1. "Because the motives on which Manasseh Ben Israel, in his book lately printed, desires their admission into this commonwealth, are such as we conceive to be very sinful.

2. "The danger of seducing the people of this nation, by their admission, is very great.

3. "Their having synagogues, or any public meetings for the exercise of their religion, is not only evil in itself, but likewise very scandalous to other Christian churches.

4. "Their customs and practices concerning marriage and divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil example among us.

5. "The principles of not making conscience of oaths made, and injuries done to Christians in life, chastity, goods, or good name, have been very notoriously charged upon them by valuable testimony.

6. "Great prejudice is like to arise to the natives of this commonwealth in matters of trade, which, besides other dangers here mentioned, we find very commonly suggested by the inhabitants of the city of London."

Other divines were of opinion, that the civil magistrate might tolerate them under the following limitations:

1. "That they be not admitted to have any public judicatories civil or ecclesiastical.

2. "That they be not permitted to speak or do any thing to the defamation or dishonour of the names of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the Christian religion.

3. "That they be not permitted to do any work, or any thing, to the open profanation of the Lord's day, or Christian sabbath.

4. "That they be not permitted to have any Christians dwell with them as their servants.

5. "That they have no public office or trust in this commonwealth.

6. "That they be not allowed to print any thing in our language against the Christian religion.

7. "That so far as may be, they be not suffered to discourage any of their own from using any proper means, or applying themselves to any who may convince them of their error, and turn them to Christianity. And that some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from Christianity to Judaism."

Mr. Archdeacon Echard says,* "The Jews offered the protector 200,000*l.* provided they might have St. Paul's cathedral for a settlement." And he adds the following malicious reflection, that "the money made his highness look upon it as the cause of God, but that both the clergy and laity so declaimed against them, that the religious juggle would not take place." This the archdeacon himself could not believe, as being quite out of character, for he knew that the protector did not enrich his family, nor value money, but for the public service. He concludes, that "the Jews could never be permitted to live long in a well-settled monarchy." What then does he call the monarchy of England, where the Jews have been indulged the free exercise of their religion, without doing any damage to the religion or commerce of the nation, for above sixty years?

The protector's zeal for the reformed religion made him the refuge of persecuted Protestants in all parts of the world. The duke of Savoy, at the instance of his dutchess, sister to the queen of England, determined to oblige his reformed subjects in the valleys of Piedmont to embrace the Roman-Catholic religion or depart the country. For this purpose he quartered an army upon them, which ate up their substance. The Protestants making some little resistance to the rudeness of the soldiers, the duke gave orders, that all the Protestant families in the valley of Lucerne should go into banishment, which some obeyed, whilst the rest sent deputies to the court of Turin, to implore mercy; but the pope and the princes of Italy advised the duke to improve the present opportunity for extirpating the reformed, and making all his subjects of one religion. The duke accordingly sent express orders to his general to drive them all out of the country, with their wives and children, and

* P. 716.

to put to death such as should remain. This was executed with great severity, April 20, 1655. Those who escaped the sword fled into the mountains, from whence, being ready to perish with hunger and cold, they sent their agents to the lord-protector of England, and other Protestant powers, for relief. It was the beginning of May when his highness was first made acquainted with their distress, whereupon he appointed a general fast, and charitable contributions throughout all England for their present assistance; and such was the compassion of the people, that the collection amounted to 37,097*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* About 30,000*l.* was remitted to their deputies at several payments, in this and the next year; but the confusions which followed upon the protector's death prevented the clearing the whole account till the convention-parliament at the Restoration, who ordered the remaining 7000*l.* to be paid. The protector applied to the Protestant kings of Sweden and Denmark; to the states of Holland, the cantons of Switzerland, and the reformed churches of Germany and France; and by his powerful instances procured large contributions from those parts. He wrote to the king of France, and to cardinal Mazarine; and being glad of an opportunity to strike terror into the Roman-Catholic powers, he sent Samuel Moreland, esq. with a letter to the duke of Savoy, in which, having represented the cruelty and injustice of his behaviour towards the Protestants in the valleys, he tells him, "that he was pierced with grief at the news of the sufferings of the Voudois, being united to them not only by the common ties of humanity, but by the profession of the same faith, which obliged him to regard them as his brethren; and he should think himself wanting in his duty to God, to charity, and to his religion, if he should be satisfied with pitying them only (whose miserable condition was enough to raise compassion in the most barbarous minds); unless he also exerted himself to the utmost of his ability to deliver them out of it." This awakened the Popish powers, insomuch that Mazarine wrote in the most pressing language to the court of Turin, to give the protector immediate satisfaction; with which the dutchess reproached him, because he had made no terms for the English Papists;* but his eminence replied, "We must leave to God

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 108. Edin. edit.

the care of defending the Catholics, whose cause is most just; but that of the heretics needs for its support the clemency of princes." Upon this the persecution immediately ceased: the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and restored their goods; the poor people returned to their houses, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. But to strike some farther terror into the pope, and the little princes of Italy, the protector gave out, that forasmuch as he was satisfied they had been the promoters of this persecution, he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the first opportunity to send his fleet into the Mediterranean to visit Civita Vecchia, and other parts of the ecclesiastical territories; and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome itself. He declared publicly that he would not suffer the Protestant faith to be insulted in any part of the world; and therefore procured liberty to the reformed in Bohemia and France; nor was there any potentate in Europe so hardy as to risk his displeasure by denying his requests.*

The charitable society for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, since known by the name of the Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy, had its beginning this year; the first sermon being preached by the reverend Mr. George Hall, son of the famous Joseph Hall bishop of Exeter, then minister of Aldersgate, afterward archdeacon of Canterbury, and bishop of Chester. The sermon was entitled "God's appearing for the tribe of Levi, improved in a sermon preached at St. Paul's November 8, 1655, to the sons of ministers then solemnly assembled," from Numb. xvii. 8; "The rod of Aaron budded, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds." The preacher's design was to enforce the necessity and usefulness of a settled ministry; and though there were some passages that discovered him to be a prelatist, the main part of the sermon breathes moderation; "Let those ill-invented terms (says he) whereby we have been distinguished from each other, be swallowed up in that name which will lead us hand in hand to heaven,"

* Mr. Neal's statement of Cromwell's interference in behalf of the Waldenses is, in general, correct; but when he says, "the poor people returned to their houses and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges"—his representation is not borne out by facts. If the reader wishes a more detailed and correct account of this tragical affair, he should consult *Jones's History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2. c. 6. sect. 6. p. 358—398.—W. J.

the name of Christians. If my stomach, or any of yours, rise against the name of brotherly communion, which may consist with our several principles retained, not differing in substantials, God take down that stomach, and make us see how much we are concerned to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.—Why should some, in the height of their zeal for a liturgy, suppose there can be no service of God but where that is used? Why should others, again, think their piety concerned and trespassed upon, if I prefer and think fit to use a set form? There must be abatements and allowances of each other; a coming down from our punctilios, or we shall never give up a good account to God.” From this time sermons have been preached annually, and large contributions made for the service of this charity. In the reign of king Charles II. they became a body corporate; and their present grandeur is sufficiently known to the whole nation.

On the 21st of March this year, died the most reverend and learned archbishop Usher, born in Dublin 1580, and educated in Trinity-college.* He proceeded M. A. in the year 1600, and next year was ordained deacon and priest by his uncle Henry Usher, then archbishop of Armagh. In the year 1620 he was made bishop of Meath, and four years after archbishop of Armagh; in which station he remained till the dissolution of the hierarchy during the civil wars. In his younger years he was a Calvinist, but in his advanced age he embraced the middle way between Calvin and Arminius. He was one of the most moderate prelates of his time, and allowed of the ordinations of foreign Protestants; which none but he and bishop Davenant, and one or two more among the bishops of those times, would admit. The archbishop having lost all his revenues by the Irish rebellion, the king conferred upon him the bishoprick of Carlisle *in commendam*. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, but did not appear

* It is a curious and singular circumstance, that archbishop Usher received his first elements of learning from two aunts, who were both born blind, yet found out a method of teaching him to read English. These ladies had vast memories, and could repeat most part of the Scripture by heart distinctly and without mistake. When it was debated, whether Dr. Usher should be nominated one of the assembly at Westminster, Mr. Selden is reported to have said, “that they had as good inquire, whether they had best admit Inigo Jones, the king’s architect, to the company of mouse-trap-makers.” *British Biography*, vol. 4. p. 336. 350.—Ed.

among them. As long as the king was at Oxford he continued with him, but when the war was ended, he returned to London and lived privately, without any molestation. He assisted at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, but could do no service, the contending parties being then at too great a distance to be reconciled. A little before the king's death, the archbishop was chosen preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-Inn, preaching constantly all term-time, till his eyes failing, he quitted that post, about a year and a half before his death, and retired with the countess of Peterborough to her house at Ryegate. The protector had a high esteem for this excellent prelate, and consulted him about proper measures for advancing the Protestant interest at home and abroad: he allowed him a pension, and promised him a lease of part of the lands of his archbishopric in Ireland for twenty-one years; but his death prevented the accomplishment of his design. About the middle of February the archbishop went down to Ryegate, and on the 20th of March was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died the next day, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having been fifty-five years a preacher, four years bishop of Meath, and thirty-one years archbishop of Armagh. The archbishop was one of the most learned men of his age; he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory; above all, he was a most pious, humble, exemplary Christian.* His body was of the smaller size, his complexion sanguine, but his presence always commanded reverence. The protector did him the honour of a public funeral, and buried him at his own expense,† in king Henry VII.'s chapel.‡

* "With his great and vast learning (it is said), no man had a better soul, and a more apostolical mind. Passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature. He had all the innocence of the dove in him. But no man is entirely perfect. He was not made for the governing part of his function. His soul was too gentle to manage the rough work of reforming abuses; therefore he left things as he found them. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and hoped for a time of reformation, yet he did not exert himself to correct or remove those corruptions which he apprehended would bring a curse and ruin upon the church. It seems that this sat heavy upon his mind in his last illness; for he prayed often and with great humility, that God would forgive his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty." *Life of Bishop Bedel*, p. 86, 87.—Ed.

† Here Mr. Neal was, it seems, in a mistake. The protector, though he directed that this prelate should be buried with great pomp at Westminster-abbey; bore but half the expense of the funeral; the other half fell very heavily upon his relations. His *Annals of the Old and New Testament* is esteemed the most valuable of his

‡ *Clarke's General Martyrology*, p. 277, &c. of the *Lives*.

Stephen Marshall, B. D. was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and was educated in Cambridge, and afterward beneficed at Finchingfield in Essex, where he acquired such reputation by his preaching, that he was often called to preach before the long-parliament, who consulted him in all affairs relating to religion. He was one of the assembly of divines, and employed in most if not all the treaties between the king and parliament. Mr. Echard, according to his usual candour, calls him "a famous incendiary, and assistant to the parliamentarians, their trumpet in their fasts, their confessor in their sickness, their counsellor in their assemblies, their chaplain in their treaties, and their champion in their disputations ;"* and then adds, "This great Shimei, being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the world mad and raving." An unjust aspersion ! for he was a person of sober and moderate principles, insomuch that Mr. Baxter used to say, that if all the bishops had been of the spirit and temper of archbishop Usher, the Presbyterians of the temper of Mr. Marshall, and the Independents like Mr. Jer. Burroughs, the divisions of the church would have been easily compromised. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the air, the Oxford Mercury said he was distracted, and in his rage constantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war against their king. But he lived to confute the calumny, and published a treatise to prove the lawfulness of defensive arms in cases of neces-

merous works ; and the first draught of this work was drawn up by him, when he was only fifteen years of age. The western world owes its first acquaintance with the Samaritan Bible to this prelate. Four copies were procured for him by a factor, and sent to him, from Syria, in 1625. He gave one copy to the library at Oxford : a second he lodged in sir Robert Cotton's library : he sent a third to Leyden, and reserved the fourth to himself. The Old Testament in Syriac was obtained for him not long after. Clarke's Martyrology, in the Lives, p. 280, and 292. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 27, 8vo.

Cromwell prevented the sale of archbishop Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts to foreigners ; and caused it to be purchased and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college, or hall, which he proposed to build and endow there. The lease, which, as Mr. Neal says, Cromwell promised to the archbishop, was never executed : and it admits a doubt, whether the pension was ever enjoyed. Dr. Grey, on the authority of Dr. Parr, the primate's biographer.—Ed.

* The words of Mr. Echard are almost verbatim borrowed from Fuller. Dr. Grey, to confute the character given of Mr. Marshall, as an admired preacher, quotes some passages from his sermons ; which certainly are not in the taste of modern eloquence : but they had a point in them, and abounded in antithesis and comparisons, which, it is easy to conceive, might gain admiration. Besides, compositions should be, in part, at least, judged of by the spirit and taste of the age to which they were adapted.—Ed.

sity. He was an admired preacher, and far from running into the extremes of the times. In the decline of his life he retired from the city, and spent the two last years of his life in Ipswich. The reverend Mr. G. Firmin, in a preface to one of Mr. Marshall's posthumous sermons, writes, that he had left few such labourers as himself behind him; that he was a Christian by practice as well as profession; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. Marshall about his death, he replied, "I cannot say, as he, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die; but this I can say, I have so learned Christ, that I am not afraid to die." He enjoyed the full use of his understanding to the last; but lost the use of his hands and appetite, inso-much that he could eat nothing for some months before he died. Mr. Fuller says, that he performed his exercise for bachelor of divinity with general applause; that he was a good preacher, but so supple, that he brake not a joint in all the alteration of the times; and although some suspected him of deserting his Presbyterian principles, yet upon his death-bed he gave them full satisfaction that he had not.* His remains were solemnly interred in Westminster-abbey, but were dug up again at the Restoration.

The protector having as yet no better than a military title to his high dignity, resolved to obtain a more legal one as soon as the times would admit. He had now cut his way through a great many difficulties, and the success of his arms this summer having raised his reputation to an uncommon pitch of greatness, he resolved to summon a new parliament to meet at Westminster, September 17, 1656, to confirm his title to the protectorship; and the republicans being his most dangerous enemies, the protector sent for sir H. Vane and major-general Ludlow, to give security not to act against the present government.† He asked Ludlow, what made him uneasy? or what he would have? Ludlow answered, He would have the nation governed by its own consent. I am, said the protector, as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent: among the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or levelling parties? The other replied, Among those of all

* Fuller's Worthies, book 2. p. 55.

† Life of Cromwell, p. 340.

sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the public. The protector, apprehending that he was for throwing all things back into confusion, told him, that all men now enjoyed as much liberty and protection as they could desire, and that he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued again in blood. "I desire not (says he) to put any more hardships upon you than upon myself; nor do I aim at any thing by this proceeding but the public quiet and security. As to my own circumstances in the world, I have not much improved them, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council), well know." But Ludlow, sir Henry Vane, and colonel Rich, persisting in their refusal to give security, were taken into custody. Bishop Burnet says, that others solicited him to restore the young king, and that the earl of Orrery told him he might make his own terms; but that Cromwell replied, "that the son could never forgive his father's blood; and that he was so debauched he would undo every thing." It was therefore resolved to set him aside, and proceed upon the present plan.

When the parliament met according to appointment, the reverend Dr. Owen preached before them; his text was Isa. xiv. 32; "What shall one then answer, the messengers of the nation? that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it." From the abbey, the protector went with the members to the painted chamber, where he made a speech and then dismissed them to their house: but to prevent their entering into debates about his title, a guard was placed at the door, with a paper of recognition for each member to subscribe, wherein they promise, not to act any thing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a protector. Upon their subscribing this, if they were under no disqualification, they had a certificate of their return, and of their being approved by his highness and council.* This measure was certainly inconsistent with the freedom of parliaments: for if the crown has a negative upon the return of the members, they are tools of the crown, and not representatives of the people; because, though they are legally chosen and returned by the proper officer, a superior tribunal may set them aside. Besides, if the parliament was to give a sanction to the new government, the recognition was absurd, because it obliged them to consent

* Whitelocke, p. 639.

to that which they had no liberty to debate. It must therefore be allowed, that Cromwell's protectorship was built solely upon the authority of the council of officers: this being one of those fundamentals which his highness would not suffer any of his parliaments to debate. But it is highly probable that these stretches of power might be absolutely unavoidable at this time, to maintain government under any form; and that without them the several parties would have fallen to pieces, and involved the nation in confusion and a new war. The parliament, in their humble petition and advice, guarded against the exclusion of their members for the future, except by a vote of the house, which the protector freely consented to; so that this was only a temporary expedient, and not to be made a precedent of: but at present almost one hundred members refused to subscribe, and were therefore excluded. These presented a petition to the sitting members for redress, and were answered, that the protector had promised to relieve them if they could shew cause of complaint. But instead of this, they appealed to the people in a severe remonstrance, charging his highness with invading their fundamental rights and liberties, and preventing the free meeting of the representatives of the people in parliament. To which it was replied, that if they would not so much as own the protector, they had no colour or pretence to call themselves members of parliament.

The sitting members having chosen sir Thomas Widdrington their speaker, approved of the war with Spain, and voted supplies to support his highness in the prosecution of it. They renounced and disannulled the title of Charles Stuart; and passed an act, making it high-treason to compass or imagine the death of the lord-protector. They reviewed the orders and ordinances of the protector and his council in the intervals of parliament, and confirmed most of them. They abrogated the authority and power of the major-generals, conceiving it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people. These, and some other acts hereafter mentioned, were presented to his highness, November 27, for confirmation; and as he was pleased to confirm them all, he told them, that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the commons upon such occasions,

so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness therein. But the parliament continued sitting till next year, when we shall meet with more important transactions.

The act for security of the protector's person was no sooner passed than a plot was discovered against his life. Miles Syndercomb a leveller, a bold resolute man, having been disbanded in Scotland, combined with one Cecil, and another of the protector's lifeguards, to assassinate him as he was going to Hampton-court; but being disappointed once and again by some unexpected accidents, the other conspirators betrayed the designs. Syndercomb put himself on his trial, and was condemned on the statute 25th of Edward III. the chief-justice Glynne declaring, that by the word king in the statute, any chief magistrate was understood. But Syndercomb prevented the execution; for the very morning he was to suffer, he was found dead in his bed; whereupon his body was tied to a horse's tail, and dragged naked to the scaffold on Tower-hill, and then buried with a stake driven through it. However, a day of public thanksgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance, February 20; when his highness gave the speaker and members of parliament a splendid entertainment at the banqueting-house.

The war with Spain this summer was attended with vast success, for no sooner had the king of Spain seized the effects of the English merchants in his country, than the protector ordered his admirals, Blake and Montague, to block up the harbour of Cadiz, and look out for the Plate fleet, which captain Stayner, who was left with seven men-of-war upon the coast, while the admirals were gone to Portugal for fresh water, discovered, consisting of eight men-of-war, making directly for Cadiz; Stayner bore up to them with all the sail he could make, and engaged them within four leagues of their port; the Spanish admiral run his ship ashore with six hundred thousand pieces of eight; but the vice-admiral, with twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, and another galleon, were fired and sunk; the rear-admiral, with two millions of plate in her, was taken; and upon the whole, six of the eight ships were destroyed; the plate to the value of two millions, was brought to Portsmouth, and conveyed in carts to London, and carried

through the city to the Tower to be coined. Admiral Blake, with the rest of the fleet, wintered upon the coast of Spain, and destroyed another fleet of much greater value the next summer.

After the discovery of Syndercomb's plot, the Prelatists, Presbyterians, and Levellers, were pretty quiet, but the Quakers began to be very troublesome. The reader has been informed, under the year 1650, that George Fox travelled the countries, declaiming in the market-places, and in churches, against all ordained ministers, and placing the whole of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulse of the Holy Spirit. In the year 1652 the Quakers set up separate assemblies in Lancashire, and the adjacent parts. In 1654 they opened the first separate meeting of the people called Quakers in the house of Robert Dring, in Watling-street, London. These unwary people, by interrupting public worship, and refusing to pay any respect to the magistrate, frequently exposed themselves to sufferings.* One of them, in a letter to the protector, says, "that though there are no penal laws in force, obliging men to comply with the established religion, yet the Quakers are exposed upon other accounts; they are fined and imprisoned for refusing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for disturbing the public assemblies, and meeting in the streets, and places of public resort; some of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain speeches to the magistrate." But the Quakers were so far from being discouraged, that they opened a public meeting under favour of the toleration, at the Bull-and-Mouth inn, in Aldersgate-street, where women as well as men spake as they were moved; and when none were moved, there was no speaking

* Gough says, "that mostly (though not always) they waited till the worship was ended." The Quakers, he observes, were not singular concerning gospel-liberty of prophesying. The Baptists and Independents adopted the opinion, that ordained ministers had not, either from the appointment of Christ, or the practice of the primitive Christians, an exclusive right of speaking in the church; but that all properly gifted might speak one by one. During the civil wars it had been usual for laymen, soldiers, and others, with the connivance, if not with the approbation, of the ruling powers, to speak or preach in the public places of worship, or elsewhere. Oliver Cromwell, in his correspondence with the ministers of Scotland, in 1650, had vindicated the practice. The members of this infant society, who thought it their duty to declare the burden of the word on their minds, were sanctioned by the opinions and manners of the age. They were reprehensible only when the impetuosity of their zeal interrupted the service as it was proceeding. And then the irregularity and rudeness of this conduct did not justify the violence and outrage with which they were often treated: as contrary to humanity and civilization as to the professed principles of religious liberty. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1, p. 87.—Ed.

at all.* The novelty of this assembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curiosity; nor did any give them disturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themselves; but in several places where they had no business, the extravagance of their speakers was insufferable; one of them interrupted the minister in Whitechapel-church, and disturbed the whole assembly. A female came into Whitehall-chapel, stark naked, in the midst of public worship,† the lord-protector himself being present. Another came into the parliament-house with a trenchard in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, "Thus shall ye be broke in pieces." Thomas Aldam, having complained to the protector of the imprisonment of some friends in the country, and not finding redress, took off his cap and tore it in pieces, saying, "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." Several pretending an extraordinary message from Heaven, went about the streets of London, denouncing the judgments of God against the protector and his council. One came to the door of the parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several who were present, saying, "he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in the house."‡ Others in their prophetic raptures denounced judgments on the whole nation, and frequently disturbed the public assemblies where the chief-magistrate himself was present. Many opened their shops on the Lord's day, in defiance of the laws, and were so very obstinate and intractable, that it was impossible to keep the peace without some marks of severity.

But the most extravagant Quaker that appeared at this time was James Naylor, formerly an officer in major-general

* Sewel's History, p. 84.

† It does not appear on what authority Mr. Neal brings forward this story. It is not to be met with in Sewel, who does relate the two following facts, p. 144. If it were a well-authenticated fact, and if this female were a Quaker, the impropriety and indecency of her conduct ought not to be imputed to the society, unless it directly arose from their avowed principles, and had been sanctioned by their approbation. Mr. Neal, farther on, speaks of "other extravagances of this people recorded by our historians about that time." The matter of inquiry will be, whether those historians wrote on good evidence, and were candid and fair in their representations. He says, that "the protector was continually teased with their importunities:" others may applaud the firmness and perseverance with which their remonstrances, on the persecutions they suffered, here called teasing importunities, were renewed. "Fox and others (he adds) wrote letters to him, filled with denunciations of the divine judgments." If we may judge by the specimens of these letters, which Sewel and Gough have given us, the candid reader will find reason rather to applaud the honest simplicity and undisguised plain dealing in them, than contempt of authority, or bitter invectives.

—Ed.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 592.

Lambert's troops in Scotland, a man of good natural parts, and an admired speaker among these people; some of whom had such a veneration for him, that they styled him in blasphemous language, the "everlasting Sun of righteousness; the Prince of peace; the only begotten son of God; the fairest among ten thousand." Some of the friends kissed his feet in the prison at Exeter, and after his release went before him into the city of Bristol, after the manner of our Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem; one walked bareheaded; another of the women led his horse; others spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him in the way, crying continually as they went on, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of hosts; Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel."* Upon this the magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended, and sent up to the parliament, who appointed a committee to examine the witnesses against him, upon a charge of blasphemy; (1.) For admitting religious worship to be paid to him; and, (2.) For assuming the names and incommunicable titles and attributes of our blessed Saviour, as the name Jesus, the fairest amongst ten thousand, the only begotten Son of God, the Prophet of the Most High, the King of Israel, the everlasting Sun of righteousness, the Prince of peace." All which he confessed,† but alleged in his own defence, that

* The story of James Naylor was too remarkable, both on account of the extravagant delusions which misled him and his admirers, and the severe and illegal sentence under which he suffered, not to be recorded. But to give it as a picture of Quakerism is not fair or candid: for not only Sewel himself condemns the behaviour of Naylor and his followers, and resolves it into his being stupified in his understanding, and beguiled by the wiles of Satan; but informs us that the Quakers in general spoke against him and his doings. They disowned him and his adherents. Gough therefore, not without reason, complains that this has been passed over unnoticed, while the enormities of this man, instead of being overlooked, have been rather exaggerated. The reflection he makes on this is just, and deserves serious attention. "There seem to be a pride and malignity in human nature, while unreformed by religion, diametrically opposite to Christian charity, which, unconscious of sublime virtue in itself, and aiming to depress the rest of mankind below its own level, delights to dwell on the dark side of characters, to magnify the failings of men, and draw a suspicious shade over their virtues, or the mitigating circumstances of their defects; and this malevolent disposition receives new force from the spirit of party, which peculiarly characterized this age, and raged with unabated violence against the Quakers."—It may be added, though it should be with deep concern, that even good and liberal minds do not always rise wholly superior to the influence of these dispositions. Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 251. 247, 248. Sewel's History, p. 143. 150.—Ed.

† This is not accurate. When the speaker Widdrington was going to pronounce the sentence, J. Naylor said, "he did not know his offence." To which the speaker replied, "he should know his offence by his punishment." The trial was published, but the extravagancy of the sentence countenances the suspicion, that the account was partially taken and published to justify the cruelty of it. Some of his answers were innocent enough: some not clear, and some wrested and aggravated by his adverse-

these honours were not paid to him, but to Christ who dwelt in him.

The committee asked him, why he came in so extraordinary a manner into Bristol. To which he replied, that he might not refuse any honours which others who were moved by the Lord gave him. Being farther asked whether he had reprov'd the persons who gave him those titles and attributes, he answered, "If they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give these honours to Christ, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Christ, I disown them." He concluded his defence thus; "I do abhor that any honours due to God should be given to me, as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous one, and what has been done to me passing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer to be done to the outward man, as a sign; but I abhor any honour as a creature."

From the committee, he was brought to the bar of the house, where the report being read, he confessed it; upon which the house voted him guilty of blasphemy, and ordered him to be set in the pillory two hours at Westminster, and two hours at the Old Exchange; that he should be whipped through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange; that his tongue should be bored through with a hot iron, and his forehead stigmatized with the letter B; he was afterward to be sent to Bristol, and to ride through the city with his face to the horse's tail, and to be whipped the next market-day after he came thither. Last of all, he was to be committed to Bridewell, in London, to be restrained from company, and to be put to hard labour till he should be released by parliament; during which time he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to have no sustenance*

ries: they reported the worst, and more than was true: adding and diminishing, it is said, as they were minded; and leaving out much of what was spoken to the committee. His words were perverted, and ensnaring questions proposed to him. Sewel's History, p. 139, note, and p. 140; or Gough, vol. 1. p. 237, 238, note.—Ed.

* It ought to be mentioned, to the honour of humanity, and as a proof that some persons of equity and moderation existed in those times, that several persons of different persuasions had offered petitions to parliament on his behalf, but it was resolved not to read them till sentence had been passed: when by the execution of the first part of it he was reduced to a state of extreme weakness, many again interposed in his favour by a petition, which was presented to the house by more than a hundred on behalf of the subscribers, while the execution of the remaining part was respite for a week, pleading that this respite had refreshed the hearts of many thousands.

but what he got by his hard labour. A sentence much too severe for such a wrongheaded obstinate creature.*

December 18, James Naylor stood in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Westminster, and was whipped to the Old Exchange; the remainder of the sentence being respited for a week, in which time the reverend Mr. Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, went to him, in order to bring him to some acknowledgment of his crime;† but not being able to reclaim him, the remainder of his sentence was executed December 27, when some of his followers licked his wounds, and paid him other honours both ridiculous and superstitious. He was afterward sent to Bristol, and whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge to the middle of Broad-street. From Bristol he was brought back to Bridewell, London, where he remained sullen for three days, and would not work, but then begged for victuals, and was content to labour.

At length, after two years' imprisonment, he recanted his errors so far as to acknowledge, that the honours he received at his entrance into Bristol were wrong; "and all those ranting, wild spirits, which gathered about me (says he) at that time of darkness, with all their wild acts, and wicked works, against the honour of God and his pure spirit and

altogether unconcerned in his practice, and praying that it might be wholly remitted. But intolerance and vindictiveness resisted these solicitations. The protector was then addressed; on which he wrote a letter to the house; but this, though it occasioned some debate, obtained no resolution in favour of the prisoner. On this the petitioners presented a second address to the protector: but it is said, the public preachers by their influence prevented its effect. Sewel, p. 141; and Gough, vol. 1. p. 240, 241.—Ed.

* Mr. Neal's censure of this sentence is too gentle. It was repugnant to humanity, equity, and wisdom. For though the religious extravagances of Naylor might reasonably shock pious and sober minds, his criminality ought to have been estimated not by the sound of the titles and claims he assumed, or which were given to him; but by the delusion and frenzy which had seized his brain: and on this ground he was an object of pity, not of indignation; and he should have been assigned over to a physician for a cure of his madness, and not to the executioner of public justice to be punished. His features, we are told, bore a near resemblance to the common pictures of Christ; which is candidly mentioned by Mr. Granger to account for his imagining that he was transformed into Christ; and which circumstance ought to have had its influence with his judges. History of England, vol. 3, p. 149, 8vo.—Ed.

† These gentlemen, in many respects excellent characters, did not manage this interview in a manner worthy of themselves, or honourable to their memory. For they would admit no friend of his, nor any other person, into the room, although requested. When Naylor insisted that what had passed should be put in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailor, they consented: but on his remarking afterward in the course of the conversation, on perceiving they meant to wrest his words, "how soon they forgot the work of the bishops, who were now treading the same steps, seeking to ensnare the innocent," they rose up in a rage, and burnt what they had written. Sewel, p. 148. Gough, vol. 1. p. 242.—Ed.

people, I renounce. And whereas I gave advantage, through want of judgment, to that evil spirit, I take shame to myself." After the protector's death James Naylor was released out of prison, and wrote several things in defence of the Quakers, who owned him as a friend, notwithstanding his extravagant behaviour;* but he did not long survive his enlargement, for retiring into Huntingdonshire, he died there towards the latter end of the year 1660, about the forty-fourth year of his age.† Mr. Whitelocke observes very justly, that many thought he was too furiously prosecuted by some rigid men.‡

Other extravagances of this people, about this time, are recorded by our historians. The protector was continually teased with their importunities; they waited for him on the road, and watched about his palace, till they got an opportunity to speak to him. George Fox, and others, wrote letters filled with denunciations of divine judgments, unless

* The reflections insinuated here against the Quakers might have been well spared: and it would have been more handsome in our author to have stated the matter as Sewel has: "James Naylor (says he) came to very great sorrow and deep humiliation of mind: and therefore, because God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, so could James Naylor's friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the lost sheep into their society." Sewel's History, p. 153.—Ed.

† The expressions uttered by James Naylor, about two hours before his death, both in justice to his name, and on account of their own excellence, deserve to be preserved here. "There is a spirit which I feel (he said), that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hopes to enjoy its own to the end: its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptation: as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thought to any other: if it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and spring are the mercies and forgiveness of God: its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else can regard it, or can own its life: it is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any pity to it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth, but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone being forsaken; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal life." After his fall James Naylor was a man of great self-denial, and very diffident and jealous of himself. Sewel, p. 159. Gough's History, vol. 1, p. 246.—Ed.

‡ Whitelocke's observation on Naylor's sentence, just as it is, is not sufficiently strong and poignant. In its cruelty this sentence bore a great resemblance to that passed on Dr. Leighton by the infamous court of star-chamber: and it vied with it in illegality, for the house of commons, as Gough remarks, is no court of judicature, nor hath any power to inflict a punishment beyond imprisonment during its session. Hist. of the Quakers, vol. 1, p. 239. It ought not to be omitted, that many of the members were very averse to the severity of the measures taken against this persecuted man, whom a temporary frenzy misled. Though it may be added here, that the recantation of this bewildered victim was not published till after his release, yet that and other pieces were written by him while he was in prison: during which period he recovered a sound state of mind, and repented of his errors. Sewel, p. 144.—Ed.

he would pull down the remains of antichrist, by which they understood church-ministers, and church-maintenance. To which the protector paid no regard.

As new inroads were made upon the ordinances for observation of the sabbath, the parliament took care to amend them. This year they ordained, that "the sabbath should be deemed to extend from twelve of the clock on Saturday night, to twelve of the clock on the Lord's day night; and within that compass of time they prohibited all kinds of business and diversions, except works of necessity and mercy. No election of magistrates is to be on the Lord's day; no holding of courts, or return of writs, but if, according to their charters, they fall upon the Lord's day, they are to be deferred to Monday. It is farther enacted, That all persons not having a reasonable excuse, to be allowed by a justice of peace, shall resort to some church or chapel, where the true worship of God is performed, or to some meeting-place of Christians not differing in matters of faith from the public profession of the nation, on penalty of two shillings and six-pence for every offence. It is farther ordered, that no minister shall be molested or disturbed in the discharge of his office on the Lord's day, or any other day, when he is performing his duty, or in going and coming from the place of public worship. Nor shall any wilful disturbance be given to the congregation, on penalty of five pounds, or being sent to the workhouse for six months, provided the information be within one month after the offence is committed."* This ordinance to be read in every church or chapel of this nation annually, the first Lord's day in every March.

The oath of abjuration, for discovering Popish recusants, not being effectual, it was now farther ordained, "that all justices of peace, at the quarter-sessions, should charge the grand juries to present all persons whom they suspected to be popishly affected; and that every such person should appear at the next quarter-sessions, and take and subscribe the following oath of abjuration, on penalty of being adjudged Popish recusants convict, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

"I A. B. do abjure and renounce the pope's supremacy and authority over the Catholic church in general, and over myself in particular. And I do believe the church of Rome

* Scobel, p. 438.

is not the true church ; and that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine after consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever. And I do also believe, that there is not any purgatory ; and that consecrated hosts, crucifixes, or images, ought not to be worshipped ; neither that any worship is due unto them. And I also believe, that salvation cannot be merited by works. And I do sincerely testify and declare, that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the chief magistrate of these nations, or to dispose of any of the countries or territories thereunto belonging ; or to authorize any foreign prince or state to invade or annoy him or them ; or to discharge any of the people of these nations from their obedience to the chief magistrate ; or to give licence or leave to any of the said people to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to the person of the said chief magistrate, or to the state or government of these nations, or to any of the people thereof. And I do farther swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes, rulers, or governors, which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may, by virtue of such excommunication or deprivation, be killed, murdered, or deposed from their rule or government ; or any outrage or violence done to them by the people that are under them ; or by any other whatsoever upon such pretence. And I do farther swear, that I do believe that the pope, or bishop of Rome, hath no authority, power, or jurisdiction, whatsoever, within England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any or either of them, or the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, or any or either of them. And all doctrines in affirmation of the same points I do abjure and renounce, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion, whatsoever, taking the words by me spoken according to the common and usual meaning of them. And I do believe no power derived from the pope or church of Rome, or any other person, can absolve me from this mine oath. And I do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. So help me God."*

* Scobel, p. 444.

Upon refusal of this oath, the protector and his successors might, by process in the exchequer, seize upon two-thirds of their estates both real and personal, for the use of the public, during the time of their recusancy; but after their decease, the same were to return to the right heir, provided they took the above-mentioned oath. It was farther ordained, "that no subject of this commonwealth shall at any time be present at mass, in the house of any foreign ambassador, or agent, or at any other place, on penalty of 100*l.* and imprisonment for six months, half to the protector, and half to the informer."

How far these severities were needful or justifiable I leave with the judgment of the reader.

The protector had an opportunity this year, of appearing for the Protestants of France,* as he had done last year for those of the Valleys; there happened a quarrel between the burghers of Nismes, who were mostly Hugonots, and the magistrates and bishop of the city; the intendant of the province being informed of it, repaired thither to prevent an insurrection; but the burghers standing in their own defence raised a tumult, of which the intendant sent an account to court. The burghers, being soon sensible of their folly, submitted and begged pardon; but the court, laying hold of the opportunity, resolved to ruin them. Upon which they dispatched a messenger privately to Cromwell, and begged his interposition. The protector, having heard the whole account, bid the messenger stay and refresh himself, and before he could return to Paris, his business should be done. Accordingly, an express was immediately dispatched with a letter to the king of France, under cover of the following to cardinal Mazarine.

"To his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

"Having thought necessary to dispatch this gentleman to the king with the enclosed letter, I commanded him to salute your eminence on my part; and having charged him

* The conduct of Cromwell, in this instance, does him the more honour, as, unhappily for the suffering Protestants of France, it is unparalleled. It was not formed on any precedent; nor has his generous example been followed. "When an opportunity (observes an ingenious writer) offered for doing something for them at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697: and again of Utrecht, in 1713, at which time four hundred were still groaning on board the galleys, or perishing in dungeons, there was not one stipulation in their favour." Bicheno's Signs of the Times, part 1. p. 46, note.—Ed.

to communicate to you certain affairs which I have intrusted him with, I therefore pray your highness to give credit to what he shall say, having an entire confidence in him.

"Your eminence's most affectionate,

"O. CROMWELL, protector of the

"Commonwealth of England, &c.

"Whitehall, December 28th, 1656."

The protector added the following postscript with his own hand; "I have been informed of the tumult at Nismes: I recommend to your highness the interest of the reformed." And in his instructions to his ambassador Lockhart, he commanded him to insist peremptorily, that the tumult of Nismes be forgiven, or else to leave the court immediately. Mazarine complained of this usage, as too high and impetuous; but his eminence stood in too much awe of the protector to quarrel with him, and therefore sent orders to the intendant to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. Welwood says, the cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the name of the protector, inasmuch that it became a proverb in France, that Mazarine was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell. Such was the terror of this great man's name in the principal courts of Europe!

This year* died the right reverend and pious Dr. Joseph

* In September, this year [1656], there happened at Abingdon in Berkshire a tumult, which was attended with singular circumstances, expressive of the political as well as religious frenzy of the times. It was occasioned by the burial of Mr. Pendarvis, the pastor of the Baptist church in that town; who died in London, and was brought down to Abingdon by water, in a sugar-cask filled up with sand, to be interred. As he was one of the fifth-monarchy men, and the people to whom he ministered were of that stamp, and famous among the party in general, his interment drew together so vast a concourse of people, even from the remotest parts of the kingdom, that the governing powers took notice of it, and sent major-general Bridges with a party of soldiers to attend on the occasion. Several days were spent by the people in religious exercises, in which were thrown out many railing accusations against the existing government, and exhortations to "arise and fight the Lord's battles," &c. At last the major-general sent an order to dissolve the meeting in these words: "It is the order of the state, that you depart to your habitations." They refused to obey this order, and persisted in their exercises. A guard was then set upon the house where they were assembled. On this they repaired to the market-place, and continued in the most insolent manner to rail at the protector, and abuse the soldiers; crying out, "Now, Lord, appear; down with the priests," &c. the very women exciting the men to violence. The soldiers at last pulled down the men from their stools. A fray ensued, and swords and canes were brandished together in the greatest confusion, and some few slightly hurt. The major-general then entered the town with his whole brigade of horse. The ringleaders were apprehended and brought before him: with whom he reasoned and expostulated in the most friendly manner, but without success. For none of them would own their fault, or acknowledge the existing government, nor even promise to behave peaceably, saying, "they knew not how

Hall, bishop of Norwich, whose practical works have been in great esteem among the dissenters. He was born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge. When he left the university, he travelled with sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa in Germany. Upon his return, he was taken into the service of prince Henry, and preferred to the rectory of Waltham in Essex, which he held twenty-two years. King James sent him to the synod of Dort with other English divines, where he preached a Latin sermon; but was forced to retire to England before the synod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return, he was preferred to the bishoprick of Exeter, and from thence translated to Norwich. At the beginning of the troubles between the king and parliament, the bishop published several treatises in favour of diocesan episcopacy, which were answered by Smectymnuus, as has been already related. He was afterward imprisoned in the Tower with the rest of the protesting bishops; upon his release he retired to Norwich, the revenues of which bishoprick being soon sequestered, together with his own real and personal estate, he was forced to be content with the fifts. The soldiers used him severely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to sell his books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraised. The bishop complained very justly of this usage, in a pamphlet entitled *Hard Measure*. At length the parliament, to make him some amends, voted him 40*l.* per annum; and when the war was ended, in the year 1647, they took off the sequestration from his estate, and the bishop lived peaceably upon it afterward, spending his solitude in acts of charity and divine meditation. He was a learned and pious man, and of great humility and goodness in conversation; but being the tool of archbishop Laud, in supporting the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, lessened him in the esteem of the parliament. Mr. Fuller says,* he was frequently called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness, of his style.† He was more happy in his

soon they might be called forth to do the Lord's work." However, five only were committed to prison, and they were soon afterward released. Thompson's Collections, under the word Abingdon MSS.—Ed.

* Fuller's Worthies, book 2. p. 130.

† In his younger years he composed a book of satires, and was the first writer in

practical than polemical writings. There is one remarkable passage in his will, which is this: after having desired a private funeral, he adds, "I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints." In his last sickness he was afflicted with violent pains of the stone and stranguary, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, September 8, 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Towards the latter end of this year died the reverend Mr. Richard Capel, born at Gloucester 1586, and educated in Magdalen-college, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A.* His eminence in the university, says the Oxford historian, was great; he had divers learned men for his pupils, who were afterward famous in the church, as Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York, William Pemble, and others. He left the university for the rectory of Eastington in his own county, where he became celebrated for his painful and practical preaching, as well as for his exemplary life. When the book of sports came out 1633, he refused to read it, but resigned his rectory, and commenced physician. In 1641 he closed with the parliament, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, but declined sitting among them, choosing to reside at his living at Pitchcomb, near Stroud, where he was in great reputation as a physician and divine, preaching gratis to his congregation. He published several valuable treatises, and among others a celebrated one, *Of Temptations, their Nature, Danger, and Cure*. He was a good old Puritan, of the stamp of Mr. Dod, Cleaver, and Hildersham; and died at Pitchcomb in Gloucestershire, September 21, 1656, aged seventy-two years.†

that kind of our English poets. Mr. Pope said high things of this performance. Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 157, 8vo.—Ed.

* Fuller's Worthies, p. 260.

† Mr. Neal has passed over here a name of great worth and eminence, which ought not to be forgotten in a history of the progress of religious liberty; that of the "ever-memorable" John Hales, of Eton, as he has been usually called, who died on the 19th of May, 1656, aged seventy-two years: whose writings, though not numerous, especially his Discourse on Schism, have much contributed to promote just sentiments and a liberality of spirit. He was born at Bath, in 1584, and made so early a proficiency in grammar-learning, that at thirteen years of age he was sent to Corpus-Christi college in Oxford; and studied under George Abbot, afterward archbishop of Canterbury, under whom he imbibed an attachment to the doctrines of Calvinism. In 1605, by the interest of sir Henry Saville, warden of Merton-college, whose notice and patronage his merit and learning had attracted, he was chosen fellow of the same: and his assistance was engaged in the excellent edition of Chrysostom's work by sir Henry; which is the best printed Greek book England can boast, and cost the learned editor several thousand pounds. Harwood's View of the

The parliament which met September 17 continued sitting till the next year, having before them an affair of the greatest consequence, which was confirming the government under Cromwell as lord-protector, or changing it for the title of king. Colonel Jephson, one of the members from Ireland, moved, that the protector might have the crown, with the title of king, and was seconded by alderman Pack, one of the representatives for the city of London; but the republicans in the house opposed it with great

Editions of the Classics, second edition, p. 143.—Mr. Hales was also appointed to read the Greek lecture in his college, and in 1612 he was elected Greek professor to the university. In 1612—13 he was called upon to compose and speak the funeral oration for sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian library, whose corpse the university determined to inter in the most solemn manner. On the 24th of May in that year, he was admitted fellow of Eton-college, being then in holy orders. In 1618 he accompanied sir Dudley Carleton, king James's ambassador to the States of Holland, as his chaplain; and was present at many of the sessions of the synod of Dort: from whence he returned an Arminian: "There (he said) I bid John Calvin good night." On the 27th of June, 1639, by the interest of archbishop Laud, he was installed a canon of Windsor: but he enjoyed this preferment, which he reluctantly accepted, little more than two years, till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642. About the beginning of 1645 he retired into a private chamber at Eton; where he remained a quarter of a year in a very obscure manner, and it is said, during that time, to have lived only upon bread and beer. His fellowship was continued, though he refused to sign the covenant; but he was ejected from it on refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth. His necessities at length obliged him to sell his admirable library for 700*l.* which had cost him 2,500*l.* His love of retirement and study induced him to decline a generous offer of one of the Seldian family. When he held the fellowship and bursar's place of his college, he was wont to say, they were worth to him 50*l.* a year more than he could spend. His body, it is reported, was well-proportioned, and his motion brisk and lively. His countenance was sanguine, cheerful, and full of air. His parts were great: his genius acute and piercing: his judgment profound: his learning various, polite, and universal; so that he was called "a walking library." His manners were most amiable and engaging. He was most exemplarily meek and humble; and beyond all example charitable: of great candour and moderation; judging for himself, but not others; none more studious of the knowledge of the gospel, or more curious in the search: of the strictest integrity, and sincerely pious. He had a great detestation of an imposing, censorious, and intolerant spirit: and would often say, that "he would renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians would be damned: and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wish him so." The force, eloquence, and simplicity, with which he wrote to archbishop Laud, give a picture of his mind, as well as convey excellent instruction. The pursuit of truth (says he) has been my only care ever since I understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this cost and pains my purchase is but error, I may safely say, to err has cost me more than it has many to find the truth; and truth shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have missed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune." He was buried, according to his desire, in Eton-college churchyard, on the day after his death: and a monument was erected over his grave by Mr. Peter Curwen. A complete edition of his works was, for the first time, offered to the public, from the press of the Foulis at Glasgow, 1765, in three volumes 12mo. undertaken with the approbation of Dr. Warburton, the bishop of Gloucester. "The greatness of his character (observes Mr. Granger) has stamped a value upon some of his compositions, which are thought to have but little merit in themselves." *History of England*, vol. 2. 8vo. p. 172. *British Biography*, vol. 4. p. 368—375; and *Works*, vol. 1. Testimonies prefixed, and p. 137, 138.

vehemence; however, upon putting the question, it was carried for a king; most of the lawyers, as serjeant Glyn, Maynard, Fountain, St. John, and others, being on that side.* April 4, a petition was presented to the protector, recommending the title and office of a king, as best fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England; and upon his desiring time to consider of it, a committee was appointed to give him satisfaction in any difficulties that might arise, who urged, that "the name of protector was unknown to our English constitution—that his highness had already the office and power of a king, and therefore the dispute was only about a name.—That his person would never be secure till he assumed it, because the laws did not take notice of him as chief magistrate, and juries were backward to find persons guilty of treason where there was no king.—They urged the advantages of a mixed monarchy, and insisted on the safety and security of himself and his friends.—That by the laws of Edward IV. and Henry VII. whatever was done by a king in possession, with the consent of a house of lords and commons, was valid, and all that served under him were exempt from punishment.—That without this title all the grants and sales that had been made were null and void; and all who had collected the public moneys were accountable.—In short, that the inclinations of the nation were for a king.—That his not accepting the office would occasion the changing many ancient laws, customs, and formalities.—That there would be no lasting settlement till things reverted to this channel.—To all which they added, that it was the advice and opinion of the representatives of the three nations; and since the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, advised and desired him to accept the title, he ought not in reason or equity to decline it."†

The protector attended to these arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the army, but the chief officers remonstrated strongly against it, and many of his old friends, among whom was his own son-in-law Fleetwood, threatened to lay down their commissions. All the republicans declaimed loudly against his accepting

* Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 303, of the annexed Lives.—Ed.

† Whitelocke, p. 646.

the crown, and presented a petition to the house against it, drawn up by Dr. Owen, and presented by lieutenant-general Mason: they said, "they had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, and should they now build it up?—They had appealed to God in the late war, who had answered in their favour, and should they now distrust him?—They had voted to be true to the commonwealth, without king or kingship, and should they break their vows, and go back to Egypt for security?—They thought it rather their happiness to be under a legal danger, which might make them more cautious and diligent.—Some said, if they must have a king, why not the legal one?"*—Upon these grounds they stood out, and rejected with scorn all limitations of the prerogative under monarchy. So that whatever might be the protector's inclination,† he judged it most prudent to decline the crown at present; and accordingly, May 8, he sent for the house, and acquainted them, that as the circumstances of affairs then stood, he could not undertake the government with the title of king.‡

Some have been of opinion, that the protector's great genius forsook him in this affair; but it is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge of the strength of the reasons that determined him the other way. Had he assumed the title of king, the army would have revolted; the cavaliers would have joined the republicans to have pulled him down from the throne, the whole nation would in all probability have been thrown into confusion, and himself have been the sacrifice. The protector had made large advances in power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at present to risk the whole for the sake of a name; though I make no question, but if he had lived to see his government established, and the spirits of the people calmed, he would in a proper time have accepted of the style and title, as he had already done the office, of king. Nay, Mr. Welwood§ says,

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 98, 12mo. Edinb. edit.

† The inclinations of Cromwell were strongly in favour of kingship: for he used all possible means to prevail with the officers of the army to concur with his scheme of royalty. With this view he invited himself to dine with colonel Desborough, and carried lieutenant-general Fleetwood with him, as he knew the influence of these officers, and their aversion to his wearing the crown. He then even stooped to solicit their indulgence: "It is but a feather in a man's cap (said he), and therefore he wondered that men would not please children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle." Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 248.—Ed.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 646.

§ Memoirs, p. 111.

that a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for that purpose.

Upon Cromwell's declining the title of king, the parliament concluded upon an humble petition and advice, which was presented to the protector May 25, containing, among others, the following articles—"That his highness would exercise the office of chief magistrate of this nation under the title of lord-protector; and that during life he would declare his successor.—That for the future he would be pleased to call parliaments, consisting of two houses, to meet once in three years, and oftener, if there be occasion.—That the ancient liberties of parliament may be preserved; and that none who are chosen may be excluded but by the judgment and consent of the house of which they are members.—That no Papist, no person that has borne arms against the parliament, unless he has since given proof of his good affection to the commonwealth; no clergyman, no atheist, or openly profane person, be qualified to be chosen member of parliament.—That the other house of parliament be not more than seventy, nor less than forty, of which twenty-one to make a house.—That they may not vote by proxy.—That as any of them die, no new ones be admitted but by consent of the house itself, but the nomination to be in the protector; and that they may not proceed in any criminal causes but by impeachment of the commons.—That no laws be abrogated, suspended, or repealed, but by act of parliament; and that no person be compelled to contribute to any gift, loans, benevolences, or taxes, without consent of parliament.—That the number of his highness's council be not more than twenty-one, of which seven to be a quorum; and that no privy-counsellor be removed but by consent of parliament; though in the intervals of parliament they may be suspended.—That the chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, the commissioners of the treasury, and other chief officers of state, may be approved by both houses of parliament."—

The article relating to religion was in these words; "That the Protestant Christian religion contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be asserted and held forth, as the public profession of this nation; and that a confession of faith, to be agreed upon by your highness and this present parliament, be as-

serted, and recommended to the people of the nation ; and that none shall be permitted by opprobrious words or writing to revile or reproach the said confession. That such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Ghost, God co-equal and coeternal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God, though in other things they may differ in word and doctrine, or discipline, from the public profession held forth, shall not be compelled by penalties or restraints, from their profession, but shall be protected from all injuries and molestations in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, while they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the public peace; provided this liberty do not extend to Popery or prelacy, or to the countenance of such who publish horrid blasphemies; or who practise or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness, under the profession of Christ; and those ministers, or public preachers, who agree with the public profession aforesaid in matters of faith, though they differ in matters of worship or discipline, shall not only have protection in the way of their churches or worship, but shall be deemed equally fit and capable (being otherwise qualified) of any trust, promotion, or employment, in this nation, with those who agree with the public profession of faith, only they shall not be capable of receiving the public maintenance appointed for the ministry. And all ministers shall remain disqualified from holding any civil employment according to the act for disabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction and authority, which is hereby confirmed.*

The protector having consented to these, and some other articles, to the number of eighteen, an oath was appointed to be taken by all privy-counsellors and members of parliament for the future, " to maintain the Protestant religion; to be faithful to the lord-protector; and to preserve the rights and liberties of the people;" and a few days after Oliver Cromwell was proclaimed a second time lord-protector in the cities of London and Westminster; this being esteemed a new and more parliamentary title; and if the

* Whitelocke's Memoirs, p. 678.

house had been full and free it might have been so, but the council's assuming a power to approve or disapprove of the members after they were returned; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new government, and obliging them to sign a recognition of it before they entered the house, looks like a force, or taking the election out of their hands. But lame and imperfect as the protector's title may seem, it was as good as that of the Roman emperors, or the original claims of many of the royal houses of Europe; and in the present disjointed state of the English nation, not only necessary, but ~~it~~ may be the best thing that could be done; for if the protectorship had been set aside, there was hardly a man in the house who would have ventured to vote for the king; an absolute commonwealth could not have been supported, and therefore anarchy would inevitably have ensued.

This being the last settlement of government in the protector's time, the reader will observe, that the four fundamental articles already mentioned, viz. (1.) That the government be in a single person and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The militia. And (4.) Liberty of conscience in matters of religion; were not suffered to be examined or altered, but were supposed as the basis upon which the new government was founded. That though Oliver's title to the government had the sanction and confirmation of the present parliament, it was derived originally from the choice of the council of officers, and was never suffered to be debated in the house afterward.—That the humble petition and advice approaches nearer the old legal constitution, by appointing two houses of parliament, and would most likely, in time, have been converted into it.—That the regulations it makes in the constitution are for the most part reasonable.—That the Presbyterians were still left in possession of all the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom, though an open and free liberty was granted to all Christians, except Papists and Prelatists, who were excluded for reasons of state; and the penal laws made against the latter were dropped, by the parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the words of the lord-commissioner Fiennes, at the opening of the second session of this parliament, in which he “warns the houses of the rock on which many had split, which was a spirit of im-

posing upon men's consciences in things wherein God leaves them a latitude, and would have them free. The prelates and their adherents, nay, and their master and supporter, with all his posterity, have split upon it. The bloody rebels in Ireland, who would endure no religion but their own, have split upon it; and we doubt not but the prince of those satanical spirits will in due time split upon it, and be brought to the ground with his bloody inquisition. But as God is no respecter of persons, so he is no respecter of forms, but in what form soever the spirit of imposition appears, he would testify against it. If men, though otherwise good, will turn ceremony into substance, and make the kingdom of Christ consist in circumstances, in discipline and in forms; and if they carry their animosities to such a height, that if one says Sibboleth instead of Shibboleth, it shall be accounted ground enough to cut his throat: if they shall account such devils, or the seed of the serpent, that are not within such a circle or of such an opinion, in vain do they protest against the persecution of God's people, when they make the definition of God's people so narrow, that their persecution is as broad as any other, and usually more fierce, because edged with a sharp temper of spirit. Blessed therefore be God, who in mercy to us and them has placed the power in such hands as make it their business to preserve peace, and hinder men from biting and devouring one another.—It is good to hold forth a public profession of the truth, but not so as to exclude those that cannot come up to it in all points, from the privilege that belongs to them as Christians, much less from the privilege that belongs to them as men.”*

His highness having now a more parliamentary title, it was thought proper that he should have a more solemn inauguration, which was accordingly appointed to be celebrated on June 26, in Westminster-hall, which was adorned and beautified for this purpose as for a coronation. At the upper end there was an ascent of two degrees covered with carpets, in the midst of which there was a rich canopy, and under it a chair of state. Before the canopy there was a table and chair for the speaker,† and on each side seats for

* Whitelocke's *Memoirs*, p. 93.

† Dr. Grey gives at length the speech with which the speaker, lord Widdrington, addressed the protector.—*Ed.*

the members of parliament, for the judges, for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London. The protector was conducted from the house of lords with all the state and grandeur of a king, and being seated under the canopy of state, the speaker of the parliament, the earl of Warwick, and commissioner Whitelocke, vested him with a purple velvet robe lined with ermine: they delivered into one of his hands a Bible richly gilt, and embossed with gold; and into the other a sceptre of massy gold; and, lastly, they girt him with a rich sword; after this they administered an oath to the protector, to govern according to law. The solemnity concluded with a short prayer pronounced by Dr. Manton; and then the herald having proclaimed his highness's titles, the people shouted with loud acclamations, "Long live the lord-protector," &c. and the day concluded with feasting, and all other kinds of public rejoicing.

The protector, having waded through all these difficulties to the supreme government of these nations, appeared on a sudden like a comet or blazing star,* raised up by Providence to exalt this nation to a distinguished pitch of glory, and to strike terror into the rest of Europe.† His management for the little time he survived, was the admiration of all mankind; for though he would never suffer his title to the supreme government to be disputed, yet his greatest enemies have confessed, that in all other cases distributive justice was restored to its ancient splendour. The judges executed their duty according to equity, without partiality or bribery; the laws had their full and free course without impediment or delay; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the protector's court kept under an exact discipline. Trade flourished, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation; the public money was managed with frugality, and to the best advantage; the army and navy were well paid, and served accordingly.‡ As the protector proceeded with great steadiness and reso-

* Echard, p. 719.

† Complete Hist. p. 223.

‡ Dr. Grey controverts the truth of this representation of the happy state of things under Cromwell's government; though Mr. Neal courts Echard and Kennet: whose authority Dr. Grey does not attempt to invalidate. He refers principally to a speech of Cromwell, 25 January 1657, complaining that the army was unprovided, and that Ireland and Scotland were suffering by poverty. For a review of the administration of Cromwell, the reader is referred to Dr. Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 412—475: and Mrs. Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. 5. 8vo. p. 194—203, who is by no means partial to the protector.—Ed.

lution against the enemies of his government, he was no less generous and bountiful to those of all parties who submitted to it; for as he would not declare himself of any particular sect, he gave out, that "it was his only wish, that all would gather into one sheepfold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and love one another." He respected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their spiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any who did not meddle in politics, and endeavour to raise disturbances in the state: even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party, says bishop Kennet, was more for their being royalists, than being of the church of England. But when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their sphere, he always found means to take them down. He had a watchful eye over the royalists and republicans, who were always plotting against his person and government; but his erecting a house of lords, or upper house, so quickly after his instalment, roused the malecontents, and had like to have subverted his government in its infancy.

The protector was in high reputation abroad, and carried victory with his armies and navies wherever they appeared. There had been a negotiation with France concerning an alliance against Spain, begun at London, 1655, but not concluded till March 13, 1657, by which the protector obliged himself to join six thousand men with the French army, and to furnish fifty men-of-war to conquer the maritime towns belonging to Spain in the Low Countries, on this condition, that Dunkirk and Mardyke should be put into his hands, and the family of the Stuarts depart the territories of France. That which determined him to join with France rather than Spain, was the numerous parties that were against him at home; for if the young king, assisted by France, should have made a descent upon England with an army of French Protestants, it might have been of fatal consequence to his infant government; whereas the Spaniards were at a distance, and having no Protestant subjects, were less to be feared. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, king Charles entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, who allowed him a small pension, and promised him the command of six thousand men, as soon as he was possessed of any sea-port in England. In consequence of this treaty, most of the royalists enlisted in the Spanish service. But the protector's six thousand men in

Flanders behaved with undaunted bravery, and took St. Venant, Mardyke, and some other places, from the Spaniards this summer.*

Admiral Blake was no less successful at sea ; for having received advice of the return of the Spanish West-India fleet, he sailed to the Canaries with twenty-five men-of-war, and on the 20th of April arrived at the Bay of Sancta-Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, where the galleons, to the number of sixteen, richly laden, lay close under a strong castle, defended by seven forts mounted with cannon ; the admiral, finding it impossible to make them prize, had the good fortune to burn and destroy them all, only with the loss of one ship, and one hundred and sixty men. When the news of this success arrived in England, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and a rich present ordered the admiral upon his return ; but this great sea-officer, having been three years at sea, died as he was entering Plymouth-sound, August 17, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.† He was of the ancient family of the Blakes, of Planchfield, Somersetshire, and was educated in Wadham-college, Oxford.‡ He was small of stature, but the bravest and boldest sailor that England ever bred, and consulted the honour of his country beyond all his predecessors. When some of his men being ashore at Malaga refused, to do honour to the host as it passed by, one of the priests raised the mob upon them. Upon which Blake sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest, who saying he had no authority to deliver him up, the admiral answered, that if he did not send him abroad in three hours he would burn the town about their ears: upon which he came, and begged pardon; the admiral, after a severe reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his sailors he would have punished them, but he would have all the world know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman, and so dismissed him, being satisfied with having struck terror into the priest, and had him at his mercy. When Oliver read this passage of Blake's letter in council, he said, "he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been."§ The admiral preserved an exact discipline in the fleet, and taught his men to despise castles on shore, as well as ships at sea.|| Valour seldom

* Burnet, p. 73. † Other accounts say in the fifty-ninth year of his age.—ED.

‡ Echard, p. 725.

§ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 113, 114.

|| It is remarkable, that Blake did not take the command of the fleet till he was above fifty years of age. "His want of experience (says Mr. Granger) seems to

missed its reward with him, nor cowardice its punishment. He had a noble public spirit; for after all his services for his country, and opportunities of acquiring immense riches from the Spaniards, he died not 500*l.* richer than his father left him. His body was brought by water to Greenwich, and deposited, in a most magnificent manner, in a vault made on purpose in king Henry VII.'s chapel, at the public expense; but at the Restoration his body was taken out of the grave, and flung with others into a common pit;* and his brother, being a dissenter, suffered so many hardships for religion, in king Charles II.'s reign, that he was obliged to sell the little estate the admiral left him, and transport himself and children to Carolina.

By the second article of the humble advice, which appoints all future parliaments to consist of two houses, the form of the present government began to change in favour of the ancient constitution. The protector, pursuant to the powers given him, made several promotions of knights and lords, and in the month of December issued out writs, by advice of his council, to divers lords and gentlemen, to sit as members of the other house,† at the next session of parliament, January 20. His intention was to have this house considered as a house of peers, though he declined giving it that name till a more favourable conjuncture. Some declined the honour, and chose to sit in the lower house, but between fifty and sixty appeared, among whom were seven or eight of the ancient peers, divers knights and gentlemen of good families, and some few chief officers of the army. They met in the house of lords, whither his highness came at the time of their meeting, and, according to ancient custom, sent the usher of the black rod to bring up the commons, to whom he made a

have been of great advantage to him; he followed the light of his own genius only, and was presently seen to have all the courage, the conduct, and precipitancy, of a good sea-officer."—Ed.

* Bishop Kennet, whom Dr. Grey quotes here, being ashamed, it is probable, of the base contempt with which the body of Blake was treated, says, "it was taken up and buried in the churchyard." But Wood plainly says, that his body, with others, by his majesty's express command sent to the dean of Westminster, was taken up and buried in a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard. The other bodies treated thus ignominiously were admiral Dean's, a brave man, who lost his life in the service of his country; colonel Humphrey Mackworth's; sir W. Constable's; colonel Boscowen's, a Cornish gentleman of a family distinguished by its constant attachment to liberty; and many others too long to be here mentioned. "Such (observes Dr. Harris) was the politeness and humanity introduced by the Restoration!" *Life of Cromwell*, p. 400. *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 285, 286.

† Dr. Grey gives a catalogue of the names of the persons whom the writ summoned, with *degrading* anecdotes of some of them.—Ed.

short speech from the throne, beginning with the usual form, "My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses, &c." and then as our kings used to do, he referred them to the lord-commissioner Fiennes, who tired them with a long and perplexed harangue before they entered upon business.

This hasty resolution of the protector and his council had like to have subverted the infant government, for many of the protector's best friends being called out of the lower house to the upper, the balance of power among the commons was changed ; whereas, if he had deferred the settling of the upper house till the present parliament had been dissolved, they would have gone through their business without interruption ; but the lower house was now in a flame, some being disappointed of their expectations, and others envied for their advancement, insomuch that as soon as they returned to their house, they called for the third article of the humble advice, which says, that no "members legally chosen shall be excluded from performing their duty, but by consent of the house of which they are members;" and then to strengthen their party, they ordered all those who had been excluded last sessions, because they would not recognise the new government to return to their places ; which was no sooner done, than they began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house, though themselves had advised it, and though there was almost as good reason for their being an upper, as for the other being a lower house ; but these gentlemen were determined to erect an absolute commonwealth, on the ruins of the present family. Many degrading speeches were made in the lower house against the persons who had been thus promoted, who were no less resolute in defending their honours and characters ; so that there was no prospect of an agreement, till the protector himself appeared, and having sent for them to Whitehall, spoke with such an accent in favour of the other house, that they returned and acknowledged it ; but then they went on to re-examine the validity of the whole instrument of government, as being made when many members were excluded. Upon which the protector, being out of all patience, went to the house and dissolved them, after they had sat about fifteen days.

The protector's speech upon this occasion will give the reader the best idea of the state of the nation : "I had com-

fortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this parliament a blessing for the improvement of mercy, truth, righteousness, and peace. I was drawn into this office of protector by your petition and advice ; there is not a man living that can say I sought it ; but after I was petitioned and advised to take the government upon me, I expected that the same men that made the frame, should make it good to me.—I told you at a conference, that I would not accept the government, unless there might be some persons to interpose between me and the house of commons, and it was granted I should name another house, which I did, of men of your own rank and quality, who will shake hands with you while you love the interest of England and religion.—Again, I would not have accepted the government, unless mutual oaths were taken to make good what was agreed upon in the petition and advice ; and, God knows, I took the oath upon the condition expressed, and thought we had now been upon a foundation and bottom, otherwise we must necessarily have been in confusion. I do not say what the meaning of the oath was to you, that were to go against my own principles, but God will judge between us ; but if there had been any intention in you of a settlement, you would have settled on this basis.

“ But there have been contrivances in the army against this settlement by your consent. I speak not this to the gentlemen or lords (pointing to his right hand), whatsoever you will call them, of the other house, but to you ; you advised me to accept of this office, and now you dispute the thing that was taken for granted, and are in danger of running the nation back into more confusion within these fifteen days you have sat, than it has been in since the rising of the last session, from an immoderate design of restoring a commonwealth, that some people might be the men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the army in the design ; which is hardly consistent with the oath you have taken to the present government. Has that man been true to the nation, whosoever he is, that has taken an oath, thus to prevaricate ? These things are not according to truth, pretend what you will, but tend to play the king of Scots game, which I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent. There are preparations of force to invade us ; the king of Scots has an army at the water-side, ready

to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it; and while this is doing, there are endeavours of some not far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into tumulting, what if I had said rebellion, and I hope to make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. You have not only endeavoured to pervert the army while you have been sitting, but some of you have been listing persons by commission from Charles Stuart to join with any insurrection that may be made; and what is like to be the end of this but blood and confusion! Now if this be the case, I think it high time to put an end to your sitting, and I do accordingly dissolve this parliament; and let God judge between me and you.”*

The protector, being now convinced that the disturbances in parliament arose from the chief officers of the army, who clogged his affairs, in order to introduce a commonwealth government, resolved to clear his hands of them at once; Harrison and Ludlow were laid aside; Fleetwood was recalled from his government in Ireland; major-general Lambert was ordered to surrender his commission; and the rest were obliged to take an oath not to oppose the present government. By such methods he went on purging the army and navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in power, but such as were thoroughly attached to his person and government. It was observed after this, that all things succeeded at home and abroad according to his wish; and that his power and greatness were better established than ever, though there were a few malecontents who were hardy enough to attempt some little disturbances; but the disasters that befel the protector's family soon after broke the firmness of his constitution, and hastened his end.

It was his highness's ambition, not only to set himself at the head, but to strengthen the whole body of the Protestant interest, and unite its several members, so that it might maintain its ground against the church of Rome. Bishop Burnet* informs us, that he had projected a sort of general council, to be set up in opposition to the congregation *de Propaganda Fide* at Rome: it was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces; the first was for France, Switzerland, and the Valleys; the second for the Palatinate, and other Calvinists; the third for Ger-

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 598, folio. † Burnet, vol. 1. p. 109, 12mo.

many, for the North, and for Turkey; the fourth for the East and West Indies. The secretaries were to have 500*l.* a year each, and to hold a correspondence every where, to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs of the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of 10,000*l.* a year, and to be farther supplied as occasion should require. Chelsea-college was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble project, says the bishop, and must have been attended with extraordinary effects under the protection of a power, which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known.

About the beginning of this year Dr. Bryan Walton, afterward bishop of Chester, published the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in six volumes in folio, wherein the sacred text is printed in the Vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persic languages, each having its peculiar Latin translation, with an apparatus for the better understanding those tongues. This laborious performance, by the assistance of several who engaged in it, was completed in about four years, and was reckoned the most absolute edition of the Bible that the world had ever seen. Several learned persons, both Puritans and others, assisted in correcting the press, and in collating the copies. Many noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expense of printing this work, without which it could not have seen the light.* After the Restoration, the doctor presented king Charles II. with the six volumes, which his majesty received very graciously, and rewarded the author with the bishoprick of Chester.

The learned Dr. Owen made some remarks of the prolegomena of this work; but after a high commendation of the performance in general, complains that he had weakened the certainty of the sacred text, (1.) By maintaining that the points or vowels of the Hebrew language were of novel invention. (2.) By producing a great number of various readings from the ancient copies of little moment. (3.) By his own critical remarks and amendments not supported by ancient authorities. The doctor maintains, on the other hand,

* "This (Mr. Granger says) was the first book published in England by subscription. The design of this great work was formed in 1645. Dr. Walton died 1661." *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 29, 8vo.—Ed.

the antiquity of the Hebrew points, and their absolute necessity to fix the determinate sense of Scripture; that the various readings are of little consequence, and that conjectural amendments ought not to be admitted without the authority of ancient copies. The doctor writes with great modesty, but the validity of his arguments must be submitted to the learned reader.

On the 3d of July the protector resigned his chancellorship of Oxford, and upon the 18th day of the same month, his eldest son Richard was chosen his successor, and installed* at Whitehall on the 29th. About six weeks after, the new chancellor dismissed Dr. Owen, who had been vice-chancellor of the university about five years, and appointed Dr. John Conant, rector of Exeter-college, to succeed him. This gentleman, says the Oxford historian,† was a good Latinist and Grecian, a profound theologian, a learned, pious, and meek divine, and an excellent preacher. He had been one of the assembly of divines, and was elected rector of this college, upon the death of Dr. Hakewell, in June 1649. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became king's professor of divinity in the room of Dr. Hoyle. He continued in the vice-chancellorship two years with due commendation, keeping a severe discipline in his college, as did all the heads of colleges in these times. He was ejected out of every thing in 1662 for nonconformity; but some time after, being persuaded to comply with the establishment, he became vicar of All-Saints in Northampton, archdeacon of Norwich, and prebendary of Worcester; which places he held till his death, which did not happen till 1693.

November 24, his highness signed a commission, appointing his younger son Henry to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with a power of conferring the honour of knighthood. Henry was a wise and discreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the Irish in awe, and brought the nation into a flourishing condition. Upon the accession of Richard to the protectorship, he advised him to abide by the parliament, and have a watchful eye over the army, whom he suspected to be designing mischief (as appears by his letters now before me). Nay, he offered to come over to his assist-

* The ceremonial of the instalment may be seen in Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 200, note.—Ed.

† Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 785.

ance, but was forbid till it was too late. When Richard was deposed, his brother Henry laid down his charge, and came over to England, and lived privately upon an estate of his own of about 600*l.* a year, at Spinny-abbey in Cambridge-shire, not far from Newmarket, till his death. While he was in Ireland he behaved with such a generous impartiality as gained him the esteem even of the royalists themselves; and after his retirement king Charles II. did him once the honour of a visit: he had a son Henry, who was bred to arms, and had a major's commission, and died in the service of the crown about the year 1711, and left behind him several children; some of the sons are yet living in good reputation in the city of London, and are the only male descendants of the protector Cromwell, the posterity of Richard being extinct.

The Royal Society, which has been the ornament of the English nation, by the vast improvements it has made in natural and experimental philosophy, was formed at Oxford in these times, which some have represented as covered with ignorance, barbarism, and pedantry: the words of bishop Sprat,* their historian, are these: "It was some space after the end of the civil wars at Oxford, in Dr. Wilkins's lodgings, in Wadham-college, which was then the place of resort for virtuous and learned men, that the first meetings were made which laid the foundation of all that followed. The university had, at that time, many members of its own, who had begun a free way of reasoning, and was also frequented by some gentlemen of philosophical minds, whom the misfortune of the kingdom, and the security and ease of a retirement among gownsmen, had drawn thither. The principal and most constant of them were, Dr. Seth Ward, Mr. Boyle, Dr. Wilkins, sir William Petty, Mr. Matthew Wren, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Willis, Dr. Bathurst, Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Rook, besides several others who joined them on occasions.—Their meetings were as frequent as their occasions would permit; their proceedings were upon some particular trials in chemistry or mechanics, which they communicated to each other. They continued without any great interruption till the death of the protector, when their meetings were transferred to London." Here they began to enlarge their design, and formed the platform

of a philosophical college, to inquire into the works of nature: they set up a correspondence with learned foreigners, and admitted such into their numbers without distinction of names or parties in religion; and were at length incorporated by the royal patent or charter, in the year 1663.

This year [1657] died Mr. John Langley, the noted master of St. Paul's school, London; he was born near Banbury in Oxfordshire, and became a commoner or brother of Magdalen-hall about 1612; was also prebendary of Gloucester, where he kept the college-school for twenty years. In the year 1640 he succeeded Dr. Gill, chief master of St. Paul's school, where he educated many who were afterward eminent in church and state. He was a universal scholar, an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer, a most judicious divine, and so great an antiquarian, says the Oxford historian, that his delight and acquaintance in antiquity deserves greater commendation than can be given in a few lines.* He was esteemed by learned men, and particularly by Mr. Selden; but was not regarded by the clergy, because he was a Puritan, and a witness against archbishop Laud at his trial. He was a member of the assembly of divines, and died at his house next adjoining to St. Paul's school September 13, 1657. Dr. Reynolds preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a very high encomium.†

Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick was born at Marlborough in the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen-college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was afterward chaplain to sir Horatio Vere, with whom he travelled into the Low Countries. After his return he became reader of the sentences 1629, and was afterward chosen preacher to the inhabitants of St. Mildred, Bread-street, London; but being driven from thence by the severity of the governors of the church, he retired to Coggeshall in Essex, where he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars. In 1643 he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines. In

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 135.

† Dr. Fuller calls him "the able and religious schoolmaster." He had a very awful presence and speech, that struck a mighty respect and fear in his scholars; yet his behaviour towards them was such, that they both loved and feared him. When he was buried, all the scholars attended his funeral, walking before the corpse, hung with verses instead of escutcheons, with white gloves, as he died a single man, from the school through Cheapside to Mercer's chapel; where he was buried. He was so much in favour with the worshipful company of Mercers, that they accepted his recommendation of his successor. Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet, p. 379, &c.—&c.

1646 he became a preacher at St. Paul's, Covent-garden; he often preached before the parliament, and was esteemed an orthodox, as well as an admired preacher.* In the year 1653 he was appointed one of the triers, and the year after, one of the commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers; but finding his health declining he resigned his preferments, and retired to his native town of Marlborough, where he died the beginning of January 1657.†

Mr. Edward Corbet was born in Shropshire, and educated in Merton-college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was made probationer fellow of his college.‡ In 1638 he was one of the proctors of the university; but being a Puritan divine, was denied the rectory of Chatham by archbishop Laud, then in the Tower; upon which an ordinance of parliament came out May 17, 1643, appointing him rector of Chatham. He was a member of the assembly of divines, a witness against the archbishop at his trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the Oxford scholars to the parliament; and afterward one of the visitors, orator, and canon, of Christ-church, in the room of Dr. Hammond, which he soon after quitted, and became rector of Great-Hasely in Oxfordshire, where he continued to his death. He was a very considerable divine, a valuable preacher, and a person of remarkable integrity and steadiness of conscience.

Mr. James Cranford was born in Coventry, and sometime master of the free-school there: he was educated in Baliol-college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was at length rector of St. Christopher's-le-Stocks, near the Old Exchange, London.§ He was an exact linguist, well acquainted with the fathers and schoolmen, as well as with the modern divines; a zealous Presbyterian, and a laborious preacher. Mr. Fuller adds,|| that he was a subtle disputant, orthodox in judgment, and a person of great humility, charity, and moderation towards all men. In the beginning of the civil wars, he was appointed licenser of the press in London, which gave him an occasion to write several epistles before books, besides some treatises that he published of his own. He died April 27, 1657, aged about fifty-five years.

* Dr. Grey quotes passages from some of Mr. Sedgwick's sermons to shew, that he was a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense.—Ed.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 138.

‡ Ibid. p. 749.

§ Ibid. p. 133.

|| Fuller's Worthies, book 3. p. 128.

The protector's arms were no less successful this summer than they had been the last, for in the month of June, marshal Turenne, in conjunction with the English forces, laid siege to Dunkirk, then in possession of the Spaniards, which brought on an engagement between the two armies: the Spanish forces consisted of thirty thousand men, but major-general Morgan, who covered the siege, attacked the right wing of the Spanish army which came to relieve it with six thousand English, who routed the whole army, which was followed with the surrender of the town June 25. The French looked on, and said, they never saw a more glorious action in their lives.* Cardinal Mazarine intended to keep this important place in French hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his highness being informed, acquainted the ambassador; but his excellency denying any such intended breach of contract, the protector pulled out of his pocket a copy of the cardinal's private order, and desired him to let his eminence know, that if the keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to Lockhart within an hour after it was taken, he would come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris;† and the cardinal had too great a dread of the name of Cromwell, to deny any thing he required. By this conquest the protector gained immortal glory, because it gave the English a settlement on the continent, and made them masters of both sides of the channel.‡ How basely it was sold by lord Clarendon to the French, will be seen hereafter.

The enthusiastic republicans, or fifth-monarchy men,

* Dr. Grey, though he allows that Mr. Neal had the authority of Echard for the merit which he imputes to the English forces in the siege of Dunkirk, yet contends that the French had their share in the glories of the day. And, to prove this, he gives a full detail of the action from the History of Visc. Turenne. Impartial Examination, vol. 3. p. 207. 213.—Ed.

† Dr. Grey, while he grants that Cromwell was a vain man, very much questions the truth of what is said above; as it does not agree with what Whitelocke says concerning the surrender of Dunkirk. The story Mr. Neal relates is the same, that we find in Welwood's Memoirs, p. 97, 6th edition. Dr. Harris treats it as all falsehood and invention; and as, authoritatively, confuted by Thurloe's State-Papers, vol. 7. p. 173; where Lockhart, in his letter to Thurloe written the day before the surrender of Dunkirk, has these expressions: "To-morrow before five of the clock at night, his highness's forces under my command will be possessed of Dunkirk. I have a great many disputes with the cardinal about several things;—nevertheless, I must say, I find him willing to hear reason; and though the generality of court and arms are even mad to see themselves part with what they call *un si bon morceau*, or so delicate a bit, yet he is still constant to his promises, and seems to be as glad in the general (notwithstanding our differences in little particulars), to give this place to his highness, as I can be to receive it. The king is also exceeding obliging and civil, and hath more true worth in him than I could have imagined." Life of Cromwell, p. 402, 403.—Ed.

‡ Compl. Hist. p. 223. Echard, p. 730.

having failed in their design in parliament, agreed, to the number of three hundred, to attempt a revolution of government by force, and having killed the protector, to proclaim King Jesus ; but secretary Thurloe, who never spared expense to gain intelligence, had a spy among them, who discovered their intrigues, and seized their arms and ammunition in Shoreditch, with their standard, containing a lion couchant, alluding to the lion of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, Who will rouse him up ? The chief of the conspirators, as Venner, Grey, Hopkins, &c. were imprisoned in the Gate-house till the protector's death, with their accomplices, major-general Harrison, colonel Rich, colonel Danvers, and others, after which they created new disturbances, which hastened their own destruction soon after the king's restoration.

But the most formidable conspiracy against the government, was a new one of the cavaliers, with which the protector acquainted the lord-mayor and common-council of the city in a speech, wherein he takes notice, that the marquis of Ormond had been privately in London three weeks, to promote the king's affairs, who lay ready on the coast with an army of eight thousand men, and twenty-two ships ; that there was a design to seize the Tower ; and that several ill-affected persons were endeavouring to put themselves in arms for that purpose ; he therefore desired them to put the city into a posture of defence, professing a more passionate regard for their safety than his own. The citizens returned his highness thanks, and in an address promised to defend his person and government with their lives and fortunes. The like addresses came from several of the regiments at home, and from the English army in Flanders. This was the plot the protector mentioned in his speech to the parliament, and was discovered by one Stapley, whose father had been one of the king's judges. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, three of the conspirators were apprehended, and tried before a high court of justice, according to the late act for the security of his highness's person. Mr. Mordaunt, youngest son and brother of the earl of Peterborough, was acquitted by one vote ; but the other two, Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet, were condemned. The doctor was indicted for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, for publishing him to be

king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and for sending him money. He behaved with great boldness towards his judges, keeping his hat upon his head while the indictment was reading; but an officer being sent to take it off, he saved him the trouble. The doctor then refused to plead three times, disowning the jurisdiction of the court; but though they read the clause in the late act, by which they were empowered to be his judges, he continued mute; upon which one of the judges summed up the charge, and was going to pronounce sentence, when he offered to put himself upon his trial, but was told it was then too late, so judgment was given against him as a mute. The doctor had prepared a plea and demurrer to the jurisdiction and proceedings of the court, and exceptions to their judgment, drawn up in form by counsel, and ready to be engrossed, but was not suffered to have them argued. However, he had the favour of being beheaded on Tower-hill, June 8, 1658, being attended by Dr. Wild, Dr. Warmestry, and Dr. Barwick.* His funeral sermon was preached the Sunday following, by Mr. Nath. Hardy, at St. Dionis Back-church, in Lime-street; and soon after, both the sermon and the doctor's intended defence were published, entitled, "Beheaded Dr. John Hewet's Ghost crying for Justice;" containing his legal plea, demurrer, and exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court, &c. drawn up by his counsel Mr. Wm. Prynne. The doctor was a Cambridge divine, but lived at Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, when he came to London, and was permitted to preach in the church of St. Gregory's, London, though he was known to be a malignant. After his conviction, the lady Claypole and lady Falconbridge, the protector's daughters, interceded with their father for his life; but because he disputed the authority of the court, which struck at the very life of his government, the protector would not pardon him. He told Dr. Manton, one of his chaplains, that if Dr. Hewet had shewn himself an ingenuous person, and would have owned what he knew was his share in the design against him, he would have spared his life; but he said he would not be trifled with, and the doctor was of so obstinate a temper that he was resolved he should die; and the protector convinced Dr. Manton before they parted, that he

* *Life of Barwick*, p. 175.



knew, without his confession, how far he was engaged in the plot. Three more of the conspirators were executed in other parts of the city, but the rest were pardoned.

A little before the protector's death, the Independents petitioned his highness for liberty to hold a synod, in order to publish to the world a uniform confession of their faith. They were now become a considerable body, their churches being increased both in city and country,* by the addition of great numbers of rich and substantial persons; but they were not agreed upon any standard of faith or discipline. The Presbyterians in the assembly of divines had urged them to this; and their brethren in New-England had done it ten years ago; nor were the English Independents insensible of the defect; for hitherto, say they, there have "been no association of our churches, no meetings of our ministers to promote the common interest; our churches are like so many ships launched singly, and sailing apart and alone in the vast ocean of these tumultuous times, exposed to every wind of doctrine; under no other conduct than the word and Spirit, and their particular elders, and principal brethren, without associations among themselves,

* The number of these churches was, proportionally, much greater in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, than in most other parts of the kingdom. This was owing to the particular intercourse which those counties have with the city of Rotterdam and Holland, where the more rigid Puritans, who were driven out of England by the severities of the times, before the civil wars began, had taken refuge, and formed several congregational churches. On the return of the English exiles to England, at the commencement of those dissensions, they brought with them their sentiments on church-government, and formed churches on the Independent plan. Of these the most ancient was the church of Yarmouth, consisting of members resident in that town and at Norwich: and the Lord's supper was administered alternately at the two places. This, after a time, was found very troublesome, and by a majority of votes the seat of the church was fixed at Yarmouth. This new arrangement was attended with great inconvenience to those who lived at Norwich. They therefore, with the consent of the other part who resided at Yarmouth, formed a separate church, June 10, 1644. This consent was given with expressions of the most tender and endeared affection; as having been, many of them, "companions together in the patience of our Lord Jesus in their own and in a strange land, and having long enjoyed sweet communion together in divine ordinances." On these models other churches were settled through these counties. As at Denton in May or June of the year 1655. At Tunstead, North-Walsham, Wymondham, and Guestwick, in 1652. In the same year was laid the foundation of the congregational church of Beccles in Suffolk, by nine persons joining together in church-fellowship, and by July 29, 1653, their number was increased to forty. The church at Walpole was settled into fellowship in the year 1647. That of St. Edmund's Bury, in 1648. That of Woodbridge, in 1651. That at Wattesfield, May 2, 1678. That of Wrentham was first gathered February 1, 1649, under Mr. John Philip, and one of its first members was Francis Brewster, esq. lord of the manor of Wrentham, who gave the church-plate which bears his arms; and some considerable legacies were left by him and different branches of his family. The hall was a place of refuge and concealment for the ministers or any of the people in time of persecution. Mr. Thomson's MS. Collections, under the words Norfolk and Suffolk.—Ed.

or so much as holding out a common light to others, whereby to know where they were."* To remedy this, some of their divines and principal brethren in London met together, and proposed that there might be a correspondence among their churches in city and country for counsel and mutual edification; and forasmuch as all sects and parties of Christians had published a confession of their faith, they apprehended the world might reasonably expect it from them; for these reasons they petitioned the protector for liberty to assemble for this purpose. This was opposed by some of the court, as tending to establish a separation between them and the Presbyterians; nor was the protector himself fond of it; however, he gave way to their importunity; and, as Mr. Echard represents that matter, when he was moved upon his death-bed to discountenance their petition, he replied, "They must be satisfied, they must be satisfied, or we shall all run back into blood again."

However, the protector did not live to see the fruits of this assembly, which was appointed to be held at the Savoy, October 12, 1658, where ministers and messengers from above one hundred congregational churches met together, of which the majority were laymen, the rest pastors in churches, and some younger divines about the court, as the reverend and learned Mr. John Howe, at that time chaplain to the young protector and others.† They opened their synod with a day of fasting and prayer, and after some debate, whether they should adopt the doctrinal articles of the Westminster assembly for their own, with some amendments and additions, it was thought more advisable to draw up a new confession, but to keep as near as possible to the method and order of the other. A committee of the most eminent divines was chosen for this work, viz. Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Mr. Phil. Nye, Mr. William Bridge of Yarmouth, Mr. Jos. Caryl, and Mr. William Greenhill. While these were employed in preparing and putting together the articles of their confession, the synod heard complaints, and gave advice in several cases which were brought before them, relating to disputes or differences in their churches. The particular heads of doctrine agreed to by the committee, were presented to the synod every morning, and read by the reverend Mr. George Griffith

* Confess. Pref. p. 6.

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 444.

their scribe. There were some speeches and debates upon words and phrases, but at length all acquiesced, and the whole was soon after published in quarto, under the title of "A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658." Next year it was translated into Latin by professor Hornbeck, and published at the end of his *Epistola ad Duræum de Independentissimo*. Some imputed their unanimity to the authority and influence of Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, and the rest of the elder divines over the younger; but they themselves, in their preface, "look upon it as a great and special work of the Holy Ghost, that so numerous a company of ministers, and other principal brethren, should so readily, speedily, and jointly, give up themselves to such a whole body of truths as is there collected." They add farther, "that this agreement of theirs fell out without their having held any correspondence together, or prepared consultation, by which they might be advised of one another's minds." Which I confess is very extraordinary, considering the confession consists of thirty-three chapters, in which are almost two hundred distinct articles of faith and discipline; and that the whole time of the synod's sessions or continuance, was not above eleven or twelve days.

The Savoy confession proceeds upon the plan of the Westminster assembly, which made the work very easy; and in most places retains their very words. They tell the world in their preface, that they fully consent to the Westminster confession for the substance of it, but have taken liberty to add a few things, in order to obviate some erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewise varied the method in some places, and have here and there expressed themselves more clearly, as they found occasion. They have omitted all those chapters in the assembly's confession which relate to discipline, as the thirtieth and thirty-first, with part of the twentieth and twenty-fourth, relating to the power of synods, councils, church-censures, marriage, and divorce, and the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. These (say they) were such doubtful assertions, and so unsuited to a confession of faith, that the English par-

liament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten dissensions among brethren, than to place these doubtful speculations under so high a title as a confession of faith. After the nineteenth chapter of the assembly's confession, of the law, the Savoy divines have added an entire chapter, of the gospel, in which what is dispersed up and down the assembly's confession is collected, and put together. Upon the whole, the difference between these two confessions, in points of doctrine, is so very small, that the modern Independents have in a manner laid aside the use of it in their families, and agreed with the Presbyterians in the use of the assembly's catechism.

At the end of the Savoy confession there is a chapter of discipline, entitled, "Of the institution of churches, and the order appointed in them by Jesus Christ;" in which they assert,

"That every particular society of visible professors agreeing to walk together in the faith and order of the gospel is a complete church, and has full power within itself to elect and ordain all church-officers, to exclude all offenders, and to do all other acts relating to the edification and well-being of the church.

"That the way of ordaining officers, that is, pastors, teachers, or elders, is after their election, by the suffrage of the church, to set them apart with fasting and prayer, and imposition of the hands of the eldership of the church, though if there be no imposition of hands, they are nevertheless rightly constituted ministers of Christ; but they do not allow that ordination to the work of the ministry, though it be by persons rightly ordained, does convey any office-power, without a previous election of the church.

"That no persons may administer the sacrament but such as are ordained and appointed thereunto. Nor are the pastors of one church obliged to administer the sacraments to any other, than to the members of that church to whom they stand related in that capacity. Nor may any person be added to the church, as a private member, but * by the

* It was also a practice of the Independents, at the first formation of their churches, to sign an agreement, or covenant, which they entered on their church-books. This, sometimes, ran out into various articles, expressive of their devotedness to the service of God, their trust in Christ, their determination to study the Scriptures, and to form their faith and worship by them, of their mutual engagement to keep the Christian ordinances, to watch over one another in the Lord, to bear one another's burdens, and to preserve union and love, and of their resolutions to persevere in a course of

consent of the church, after a confession of his faith, declared by himself, or otherwise manifested.

“ They disallow the power of all stated synods, presbyteries, convocations, and assemblies of divines, over particular churches, but admit, that in cases of difficulty, or difference relating to doctrine or order, churches may meet together by their messengers in synods or councils, to consider and give advice, but without exercising any jurisdiction.

“ And lastly, they agree, that churches, consisting of persons sound in the faith and of good conversation, ought not to refuse communion with each other, though they walk not in all things according to the same rule of church-order; and if they judge other churches to be true churches, though less pure, they may receive to occasional communion such members of those churches as are credibly testified to be godly, and to live without offence.

“ These opinions (say they) may appear new to a great many people, because they have not been openly and publicly professed in the English nation, but we are able to trace the footsteps of an Independent congregational way, in the ancientest practice of the church, and in the writings of the soundest Protestant divines.” They add, “ that their principles do not in the least interfere with the authority of the civil magistrate, nor do they concern themselves upon any occasions with him, any farther than to implore his protection, for the preservation of the peace and liberty of their churches.” They glory in this, that ever since they appeared in the world, they have distinguished themselves in the cause of Christian liberty. “ We have always, say they, maintained this principle, that among all Christian states and churches, there ought to be a forbearance and mutual indulgence to Christians of all persuasions, that keep to and hold fast the necessary foundations of faith and holiness. This principle we have maintained for the sake of others, when we ourselves had no need of it.” They conclude with thankfulness to their present governors, for

faith and holiness. Of these forms of agreement, one of the most simple is that which was adopted by the church at Wattesfield in Suffolk. It was in these words: “ We do covenant or agree in the presence of God, through the assistance of his Holy Spirit, to walk together in all the ordinances of the Lord Jesus, as far as the same are made clear unto us, endeavouring the advancement of the glory of our Father, the subjection of our will to the will of our Redeemer, and the mutual edification of each other in his most holy faith and fear.” Mr. Thompson's MS. Collections, under the name Wattesfield.—Ed.

permitting those who could not comply with the Presbyterian establishment to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and equal encouragement and protection with others; and that this liberty is established by a law, as long as they disturb not the public peace. This should engage us (say they) to promote the honour and prosperity of such a government, to be peaceably disposed one towards another, and to love as brethren; forasmuch as the differences between Presbyterians and Independents are differences between fellow-servants, neither of them having authority from God or man, to impose their opinions upon one another.

Mr. Baxter, in the main a very peaceable and candid divine, loses all temper when he speaks of this assembly: he finds fault with their definition of justification, and makes these remarks: "They thought it not enough expressly to contradict St. James, and to say unlimitedly, that we are justified by the righteousness of Christ only, and not by any works, but they contradicted St. Paul also, who says, that 'faith is imputed for righteousness;' and not only so, but they asserted, that we have no other righteousness but that of Christ. A doctrine abhorred by all the reformed and Christian churches, and which (says he) would be an utter shame of the Protestant name, if what such men held and did were imputable to sober Protestants." But is it possible that Mr. Baxter could believe, that the Savoy divines denied the necessity of sanctification, or personal holiness? when they have a whole chapter in their Confession upon sanctification, another upon repentance and good works, and a third upon the moral law, which they declare does for ever bind all men to obedience, both justified and unjustified. When Mr. Baxter asked some honest men who joined them, whether they subscribed the confession? they said no; he then inquired, why they did not contradict this? To which they answered, because the meaning was, that they had no other righteousness but that of Christ to be justified by; which is certainly the doctrine of the Westminster assembly. What does Mr. Baxter reply to this? Why nothing, but adds, very uncharitably, "that the Independent confessions are like such oaths as speak one thing and mean another; so much could two men [Dr. Owen and Goodwin] do with many honest tractable young men, who had more zeal for separating strictness than judgment to understand

the word of God, the interest of the churches and of themselves."* And yet there were in that assembly many divines of as great age and learning as himself; their design was not to undervalue the Westminster confession, but rather to answer the desires of that assembly, by publishing to the world such a declaration of their faith and discipline as they had demanded. And the confession was so far from raising any new divisions, that Mr. Philip Henry observes, upon the death of Cromwell, that there was a great change in the tempers of good people throughout the nation, and a mighty tendency to peace and unity, as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings. However, the Independents lost their best friend in the protector, who was not only their patron upon the principle of liberty, but a balance to the Presbyterian pretences to ecclesiastical power.

The hierarchy of the church of England was now ~~at a~~ very low ebb, and in danger of being lost beyond recovery; for if the bishops, who were now very ancient, had all died off, before others had been consecrated, the line of succession must have failed; for the church of Rome was so far from supporting it, that they published a treatise this year, *Of the Nature of the Catholic Faith, and of Heresy*; in which they endeavour to invalidate the English ordinations, and revived the story of the Nag's-head club; for the truth of which they appealed to Dr. Moreton, the ancient bishop of Durham, who in a solemn speech made in full parliament (say they) declared in express words, that our first bishops after the Reformation had been consecrated in a tavern; and that this was so far from being doubted, that it was a fact most notorious to all the world; adding, that the rest of the bishops present rather approved that in the least opposed what he had said. The bishop, then in the ninety-fourth year of his age, being advised of this calumny, sent for a public notary from London, and in the presence of proper witnesses, made a solemn protestation of the falsehood of this story, and signed it in due form July 17, 1658. He then sent his chaplain Dr. Barwick,† to all the lords spiritual and temporal then alive, who had sat in that parliament; desiring that if they believed him undeservedly aspersed, they would attest it by subscribing their names: which was done by six bishops, and fourteen temporal lords, and by the several clerks and registrars of the house. The bishop died

* *Life*, p. 104.

† *Ibid.* p. 40.

soon after, but his protestation, with the proofs, was afterward published by Dr. Brambal, bishop of Derry, in a treatise entitled, "The consecration and succession of Protestant bishops justified; the bishop of Duresme vindicated; and the fable of the ordination of the Nag's-head club clearly confuted." This awakened the clergy to enter upon measures for the continuance of a succession of bishops, though they could not be regularly chosen, lest the validity of the episcopal ministry should cease; which will come under consideration in the transactions of the next year.

Lord Clarendon mentions an address of the Anabaptists to the king, who, being disappointed in their expectations of a commonwealth, threw themselves at his majesty's feet, offering their assistance to pull down the present government. In their address they say, "they took up arms in the late war for liberty and reformation, but assure his majesty that they were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off their allegiance, or extirpating the royal family, that they had not the least intent to abridge him of his just prerogatives, but only the restraining those excesses of government, which were nothing but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were rather a burden than an ornament to the royal diadem." They then go on to declaim against the protector, calling him, that grand impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor, the prodigy of nature, the opprobrium of mankind, a landskip of iniquity, a sink of sin, a compendium of baseness. And then, begging pardon for their former offences, they promise to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majesty's restoration, provided his majesty would be so gracious as to restore the remains of the long-parliament; to ratify the treaty of the Isle of Wight; to establish liberty of conscience; to take away tithes, and provide some other maintenance for the national clergy; and to pass an act of oblivion, for all who had been in arms against his father and himself, except those who should adhere to that ungodly tyrant who calls himself protector. His lordship adds, that the messenger that brought these propositions, asking the sum of 2,000*l.* to carry on the project, his majesty dismissed him with civil expressions, telling him, he had no designs to trouble any man for his opinion. However, if there had been such an address from the body of the Anabaptists, it is a little strange that after the Resto-

ration it was not remembered to their advantage. But his lordship seems to have had no great acquaintance with these men, when he says, they always pretended a just esteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the king, whereas they were of all sects the most zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the protector for no other reason but because he was for government by a single person. In truth, this whole affair seems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor king's purse.*

The protector's health was now declining, through his advanced age and excessive toils and fatigues. The restless spirits of the royalists and republicans put him upon his guard, insomuch that he usually wore under his clothes a piece of armour, or a coat of mail. The loss of his beloved daughter Claypole, who died this summer, had also a very sensible influence on his health. About the middle of August he was seized with a slow fever, which turned to a tertian ague; but the distemper appeared so favourable for a while, that he walked abroad in the gardens at Hampton-court. Ludlow says, the protector had a humour in his leg, which he desired the physicians to disperse, by which means it was thrown into his blood: at length his pulse began to intermit, and he was advised to keep his bed; and his ague fits growing stronger, it was thought proper to remove him to Whitehall, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his physicians declared his life in danger, and the council being summoned to desire him to nominate his successor, he appointed his eldest son Richard. In the intervals of his fits, he behaved with great devotion and piety, but manifested no remorse for his public actions; he declared in general, that he designed the good of the nation, and to preserve it from anarchy and a new war. He once asked Dr. Goodwin, who attended at his bed-side, and is said to have expressed an unbecoming assurance† to Almighty God in prayer of his recovery, whether a man could

* Notwithstanding the suspicions which rest upon this affair, Crosby has seen fit to preserve the address, propositions, and letter, in the Appendix to his first volume, no. 5.—ED.

† The language of Dr. Goodwin was thus extravagant: "Lord, we beg not for his recovery; for that thou hast already granted and assured us of; but for his speedy recovery." And when news was brought of his death, Mr. Peter Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled. "For (said he) this is good news: because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions." *Lud-*

fall from grace? which the doctor answering in the negative, the protector replied, "Then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace."* About twelve hours before he died he lay very quiet, when major Butler being in his chamber, says he heard him make his last prayer to this purpose: "Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory, and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people, forgive their sins, and do not forsake them, but love and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom, with thee and thy Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen." The protector died, September 3, 1658, about three in the afternoon, the day on which he had triumphed in the battles of Marston-Moor,† Dunbar, and Worcester, when he had lived fifty-nine years, four months, and eight days: four years and eight months after he had been declared protector by the instrument of government; and one year and three months after his confirmation by the humble petition and advice. As he had lived most part of his life in a storm, his death was attended with one of the greatest hurricanes that had been known for many years.‡ Some have said, that next night after his death, his body was wrapped up in lead, and buried in Naseby-field, according to his desire. Others, more probably, that it was deposited privately in a vault in king Henry VII.'s chapel, sometime before the public funeral, which was performed November 23, with all imaginable grandeur and military pomp,§ from Somerset-house, where

low's Memoirs, 4to. p. 258, 259. Dr. Grey does not fail to notice these strange flights. And Sewel the historian's reflection on this last instance of the flattery, or frenzy, of these courtiers, was just. "O horrid flattery! Thus I call it, though he had been the greatest saint on earth; which he came much short of, though he was once endued with some eminent virtues." History of the Quakers, p. 189.—Ed.

* Baxter's Life, p. 98.

† This, as Dr. Grey notices, is an error; the battle of Marston-Moor was fought on the 2d July, 1644.—Ed.

‡ Dr. Grey tells us also, that on the day his coffin was taken up and hung at Tyburn, almost as remarkable a storm rose in the northern parts of the kingdom. Superstition and a hatred of Cromwell construed these circumstances as appearances of nature or the God of nature, by physical phenomena, expressing an abhorrence of his character. But sound philosophy sees nothing but a singular coincidence of events, happening together, but without any correspondence in their causes: and will reflect, how many storms disturb the elements, when no wicked tyrant dies in the political world!—Ed.

§ The expenses of Cromwell's funeral amounted to 60,000*l*. The body laid in a

he had lain in state, to the Abbey-church in Westminster; where a fine mausoleum was erected for him, on which his effigy was placed, and exhibited to the view of all spectators for a time; but after the king's restoration, his coffin was taken out of the vault, and drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn, where he was hanged up till sunset, and then buried under the gallows.

Thus died the mighty Oliver Cromwell, the greatest soldier and statesman of his age, after he had undergone excessive fatigues and labours in a long course of warlike actions, and escaped innumerable dangers from the plots and conspiracies of domestic enemies. Few historians have spoken of him with temper, though no other genius, it may be, could have held the reins, or steered the commonwealth, through so many storms and hurricanes, as the factions of these times had raised in the nation. He was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, and descended of the family of Williams, of Glamorgan in Wales, which assumed the name of Cromwell by marrying with a daughter of Cromwell earl of Essex, in the reign of king Henry VIII. The seat of the eldest branch of the family was called Hinchinbrook, now belonging to the earl of Sandwich, who were reputed to possess an estate of 30,000*l.* a year. Oliver, who was descended of a younger branch, was educated in Cambridge, and from thence became a student of Lincoln's Inn, being a wild and extravagant youth till about the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he quitted his irregular life, and became remarkably sober. In the year 1640, he was chosen representative in parliament for the town of Cambridge, and sat two years undistinguished in the house, as a mere country gentleman, appearing, says sir Philip Warwick, in a plain cloth suit of clothes made by a country tailor, his linen not very clean, his band unfashionable, his hat without a hatband, and his sword close by his side; his countenance

more private apartment, till the 1st of November; in imitation of the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip II. king of Spain, who was thus represented to be in purgatory for two months. It was then removed into the great hall of Somerset-house; the part where the bed stood was railed in, and the rails and ground within covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt, in the night, on his escutcheon, placed over the great gate. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, *&c.* p. 260.—*Ed.*

was swollen and reddish, his voice hoarse and untunable, but his elocution was full of fervour and warmth, and he was well heard in the house. His person somewhat exceeded the middle stature,* but was well proportioned, compact, and strong. He had a masculine countenance, a sparkling eye, a manly stern look, a vigorous constitution, and was an enemy to ease and excess; the motto upon his coat of arms was, *Pax quæritur bello*.

Upon the breaking out of the civil war he took arms for the parliament, and though he was forty-three years of age before he drew a sword, he soon became colonel of a regiment of chosen men, who declared they fought not for gain, but for the cause of religion and liberty. He always went to prayer before battle, and returned solemn thanks for his success afterward. He was careful to promote an exact discipline in the army, and would not have pardoned his own brother, says my author,† if he had found him plundering the country people. The army had not an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or more eagerly sought occasions to distinguish his personal valour. He had a great presence of mind in the heat of action, and taught his soldiers to fight in a more desperate manner than usual, not allowing them to discharge their muskets, till they were so near the enemy as to be sure of doing execution. His reputation rose so fast, that he quickly became a major-general, then lieutenant-general under Fairfax, and at last supplanted him. His troops believed themselves invincible under his conduct; he never lost a battle where he had the chief command. The victory of Marston-Moor was chiefly ascribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland in less than a year made him the terror of his enemies;

* Sir John Reresby calls Cromwell "one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. His figure did not come up to his character; he was indeed a likely person, but not handsome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his apparel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was, doubtless, the greatest dissembler on earth." *Memoirs*, p. 2. Since Mr. Neal wrote, various historians have reviewed the actions and character of Cromwell. Amongst whom the faithful and judicious Dr. Harris deserves particular mention. The candid and copious account of this extraordinary man in the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, has been enriched with new and curious matter by the learned and accurate pen which has conducted the second edition. The history of the Cromwell family has been accurately investigated by Mr. Noble, in his *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*; not to mention other writers, who have elucidated this subject. To other particulars, with which Dr. Kippis has improved the article Cromwell, in the *Biogr. Britan.* is added an ample exhibition of the characters of him, drawn by foreigners and natives.—ED.

† *Carrington's Life of Cromwell*, p. 243. *Welwood's Mem.* p. 104.

and the battles of Dunbar and Worcester completed his martial glory.

How far his usurping the protectorship of the three nations, without the previous consent of a free parliament, was the result of ambition or necessity, has been considered already; but if we view him as a statesman, he was an able politician, a steady resolute governor; and though he had more numerous and powerful enemies than any man of the age, he was never intimidated, having a peculiar art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his favour. He had a wonderful knowledge of mankind, and an inimitable sagacity and penetration. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, he would find him out, and reward him according to his merit. In nothing was his good understanding better discovered, says bishop Burnet, than in seeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general satisfaction. By these methods, in the space of four or five years, he carried the reputation and glory of the English nation as high as it was capable of being raised. He was equally dreaded by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, who condescended to servile compliances to obtain his friendship; Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, thought himself honoured by his alliance; and cardinal Mazarine said, that nothing but the king of France's having the small-pox could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might have the honour of waiting on one of the greatest men.

The protector had an uncommon command of his passions, and knew how to behave in character upon all occasions; though in private life he would be jocose and merry with his inferiors; yet no prince was more jealous of his dignity on public occasions. His ambassadors in foreign courts had all the respects paid them that our kings ever had. All Europe trembled at his name! And though he could converse with no foreigners but in broken Latin, yet no man ever had better intelligence, nor understood the views and interests of the several courts of Europe better than himself. He had spies at Madrid and Paris, and was so happy as to fix upon persons who never failed him. Mr. Algernon Sydney, who was not inclined to think or speak well of kings, commended him to bishop Burnet, as one who had just notions of public liberty: and though he made some severe

and cruel laws against the episcopal clergy, it was not for their religion, but because they were open and declared enemies to his person and government.

The protector was a Protestant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: he had chaplains of all persuasions; and though he was by principle an Independent, he esteemed all reformed churches as part of the catholic church; and without aiming to establish any tenets by force or violence, he witnessed, on all occasions, an extreme zeal for the Protestant religion, and a just regard for liberty of conscience.

As to his moral character, his greatest enemies have not charged him with any public vices. Dr. Welwood admits, that he was not addicted to swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, avarice, or the love of women, but kept close to his marriage-bed. Nor is he chargeable with covetousness, for it has been computed, says the writer of his life,* that he distributed 40,000*l.* a year out of his privy purse to charitable uses.† He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his punishment of ill actions. His court was regulated according to a most strict discipline, says Mr. Echard, where every vice was banished or severely punished. He maintained a constant appearance of piety, and was regular in his private and public devotions: he retired constantly every day to read the Scriptures and prayer; and some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he prostrated himself with his face on the ground, and with tears poured out his soul to God for a quarter of an hour. He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and an encourager of goodness and austerity of life.‡ Mr. Baxter admits, that “he kept as much honesty and godliness as his cause and interest would allow: that he had a zeal for religion, meant honestly in the main, and

* Carrington, p. 248.

† An observation of Dr Gibbons, as just in itself and doing honour to Cromwell, deserves to be mentioned here. It is this; “that it does not appear that in the height of his power he ever diverted any part of the national property to the private emolument of himself or family, as he left them possessed of the small estates only which he enjoyed before he arrived to the protectorate.” *Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell*, p. 48.—Ed.

‡ To this must be ascribed his prohibition of all theatrical exhibitions. There was, indeed, a remarkable exception, in his permitting, from hatred to the Spaniards, the representation of a performance entitled, “*The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*.” *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 29, in the *Literary Museum*, 8vo. printed in 1792.—Ed.

was pious in the main course of his life,* till prosperity corrupted him."

But with all these good qualities it is certain, the protector was a strong enthusiast, and did not take up his religion upon rational or solid principles, which led him into sundry mistakes, not supported by reason or Scripture. One of his favourite principles was, a particular faith; that is, if any thing was strongly impressed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a rule of action; but if there were no impressions, but a flatness in his devotions, it was a denial. Upon this maxim he is said to have suffered the late king to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner.—Another maxim was, that "in extraordinary cases something extraordinary, or beyond the common rules of justice, may be done; that the moral laws, which are binding in ordinary cases, may then be dispensed with; and that private justice must give way to public necessity." Which was the protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable stretches of power. A third principle by which the protector was misled, was, his determining the goodness of a cause by the success. An appeal to the sword was with him an appeal to God; and as victory inclined, God owned or discountenanced the cause!—It is impossible that a man's conduct could be just or consistent, while it was directed by such mistaken principles.

It has been farther objected to the protector's character, that he was notoriously guilty of hypocrisy and dissimulation both to God and man; that he mocked God by the pretence of piety and devotion, and by long prayers full of hypocritical zeal. But who can penetrate the heart, to see whether the outward actions flow from an inward principle? With regard to men, it is certain the protector knew how to address their passions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his devotions he uttered with his mouth what his heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: but men are not slightly to be arraigned, says Rapin, for the inward

* That his religious character was not originally assumed, however it might afterward be abused, to carry political views, and was prior to his dignity and power, it has been observed, is evinced from his letters written long before that period, and from what Milton says of him; "that being arrived to manly and mature age, which he spent as a private person, and noted for nothing more than the cultivation of pure religion and integrity of life, he was grown wealthy in retirement at home." Gibbons's Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, p. 47, 48.—K.

motions of their heart, which pass all human knowledge.— Besides, it is not easy to conceive the watchful eyes that were upon him, and the vast difficulties he had to contend with. Queen Elizabeth's dissimulation has been extolled, for the very same reason that the protector's is condemned: if therefore such a conduct was necessary to govern the several parties, there is nothing greatly blameworthy in it, says the same author, unless it was a crime in him not to put it into the power of his enemies, to destroy him with the greater ease.

Ambition and thirst of glory might sometimes lead the protector aside, for he imagined himself to be a second Phineas, raised up by Providence to be the scourge of idolatry and superstition, and in climbing up to the pinnacle of supreme power, did not always keep within the bounds of law and equity: to this passion some have ascribed his assuming the protectorship, and putting himself at the head of three kingdoms; though others are of opinion, it was owing to hard necessity and self-preservation. I will not venture to decide in this case; possibly there might be a mixture of both. When he was in possession of the sovereign power, no man ever used it to greater public advantage, for he had a due veneration for the laws of his country, in all things wherein the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned: and though he kept a standing army, they were under an exact discipline, and very little burden to the people.

The charge of cruelty, which is brought against him, for having put some men to death for conspiring against his person and government, deserves no confutation, unless they would have had him sit still, till some conspiracy or other had succeeded. Cruelty was not in his nature;* he was not for unnecessary effusion of blood. Lord Clarendon assures us, that when a general massacre of the royalists was proposed by the officers in council, he warmly opposed and prevented it.

* Such was the sensibility of his spirit, that if an account were given him of a distressed case, the narration would draw tears from his eyes. It speaks strongly in favour of his temper and his domestic deportment, that the daughter of sir Francis Russel, married to his second son Henry, who before her marriage had entertained an ill opinion of his father Oliver, upon her coming into the family felt all her prejudices removed, and changed into a most affectionate esteem for her father-in-law, as the most amiable of parents. Gibbons's Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, &c. p. 46.—ED.

Dr. Welwood* compares the protector to an unusual meteor, which with its surprising influences overawed not only three kingdoms, but the most powerful princes and states about us. A great man he was, says he, and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had not imbrued his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country.

Upon the whole, it is not to be wondered, that the character of this great man has been transmitted down to posterity with some disadvantage, by the several factions of Royalists, Presbyterians, and Republicans, because each were disappointed, and enraged to see the supreme power wrested from them; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities: he was at the helm in the most stormy and tempestuous season that England ever saw; but by his consummate wisdom and valour, he disconcerted the measures and designs of his enemies, and preserved both himself and the commonwealth from shipwreck. I shall only observe farther, with Rapin, that the confusions which prevailed in England after the death of Cromwell, clearly evidence the necessity of this usurpation, at least till the constitution could be restored. After his death his great achievements were celebrated in verse, by the greatest wits of the age, as Dr. Sprat, afterward bishop of Rochester, Waller, Dryden, and others, who in their panegyrics outdid every thing which till that time had been written in the English language.

Four divines of the assembly died this year: **Dr. John Harris**, son of Richard Harris of Buckinghamshire, born in the parsonage-house of Hardwick in the same county, educated in Wickham-school near Winchester, and in the year 1606 admitted perpetual fellow of New-college. He was so admirable a Grecian, and eloquent a preacher, that sir Henry Saville called him a second St. Chrysostom. In 1619 he was chosen Greek professor of the university. He was afterward prebendary of Winchester, rector of Meonstoke in Hampshire, and in the year 1630, warden of Wickham-college near Winchester; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, took the covenant, and other oaths,

* P. 102.

and kept his wardenship till his death ; he published several learned works, and died at Winchester, August 11, 1658, aged seventy years.

Mr. Sydrach Sympson, a meek and quiet divine of the Independent persuasion, was educated in Cambridge, but forced to fly his country for nonconformity in the times of archbishop Laud. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Bishop Kennet says, he was silenced for some time from preaching, because he differed in judgment from the assembly in points of church-discipline, but was restored to his liberty October 28, 1646. He afterward gathered a congregation in London, after the manner of the Independents, which met in Abchurch near Cannon-street. Upon the resignation of Mr. Vines in the year 1650, for refusing the engagement, he was by the visitors made master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge. He was a divine of considerable learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his last sickness he was under some darkness, and melancholy apprehensions ; upon which account some of his friends and brethren assembled in his own house to assist him with their prayers ; and in the evening, when they took their leave, he thanked them, and said, he was now satisfied in his soul ; and lifting up his hands towards heaven said, " He is come, he is come." And that night died.

Dr. Robert Harris was born at Broad-Campden in Gloucestershire, 1578, and educated in Magdalen-college, Oxon. He preached for some time about Oxford, and settled afterward at Hanwell, in the place of famous Mr. Dodd, then suspended for nonconformity ; here he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars, when by the king's soldiers he was driven to London. He was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the year 1646, he was one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford, and next year one of their visitors, when he was created D. D. and made president of Trinity-college, and rector of Garlington near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his death, governing his college with a paternal affection, being revered by the students as a father. The inscription over his grave gives him a great character ; but the royalists charge him, and I believe justly, with being a notorious

pluralist.* He died December 11, 1658, in the eightieth year of his age.†

Mr. William Carter was educated in Cambridge, and afterward a very popular preacher in London. He was a good scholar, of great seriousness, and though a young man, appointed one of the assembly of divines. After some time he joined the Independents, and became one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly. He had offers of many livings but refused them, being dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of those times; nevertheless, he was indefatigable in his ministry, preaching twice every Lord's day to two large congregations in the city, besides lectures on the week-days: this wasted his strength, and put an end to his life about Midsummer 1658, in the fifty-third year of his age. His family were afterward great sufferers by the purchase of bishops' lands.

CHAP. IV.

THE INTERREGNUM FROM THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 1659.

UPON the death of the protector, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year revived the confusions of the preceding ten. Richard Cromwell, being proclaimed protector upon his father's decease, received numberless addresses from all parts,‡ congratulating his accession to the dignity of protector, with assurances of lives and fortunes cheerfully devoted to support his title.

* Against this charge, if the truth of it should be admitted, ought to be set his charity; which, we are told, exceeded the ordinary proportion of his revenues.—Ed.

† Clarke's Lives in his Martyrology, p. 314—339.

‡ Of these addresses, Dr. Grey says, "nothing ever exceeded them in point of flattery, except those canting addresses of the dissenters to king James upon his indulgence:" and he gives several at length, as specimens of the strain of adulation in which they were drawn up, from different corporations: from which the reader will see that mayors, recorders, and aldermen, of that day could rival the Independent ministers, whom the doctor reproaches as "most foully guilty," in their effusions of flattery. In truth, all were paying their devoirs to the rising sun.—Ed.

He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or resolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. He was highly caressed by the Presbyterians, though he set out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of November 25, entitled, "A proclamation for the better encouraging godly ministers and others;" and for their enjoying their dues and liberties, according to law, without being molested with indictments for not using the Common Prayer-book.

The young protector summoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of January. 1658—9. The elections were not according to the method practised by his father, but according to the old constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller boroughs might be more easily influenced than cities and counties; but it was ill judged to break in upon the instrument of government, by which he held his protectorship. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little business, the lower house not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions; the Wallingford-house party, which was for a commonwealth; and the Presbyterian, which with the majority of the parliament, was for the protector. The Wallingford-house party, of which Fleetwood and Desborough were the head, invited Dr. Owen and Dr. Manton to their consultations. Dr. Owen went to prayer before they entered on business, but Dr. Manton, being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, saying, He must down, and he shall down. Manton knew the voice to be Dr. Owen's, and understood him to mean the deposing of Richard, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. Owen's life discredits this story; though, in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government: he sided with the army, and drew up their address against Oliver's being king: upon which he declined in the protector's favour, and as soon as Richard became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorship. The cabinet-council at Wallingford-house having gained over several to their party, prevailed with Richard to consent to their erecting a general council of officers, though he could not but know they designed his ruin, being all republicans; and therefore, instead of supporting the

protector, they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the advancement of disaffected persons, and that the good old cause was ridiculed. Richard, sensible of his fatal mistake, by the advice of lord Broghil dissolved the council, and then the parliament voted they should meet no more ; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of sovereign dictators armed with power, sent the protector a peremptory message to dissolve the parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the parliament and army at his devotion, but that he might choose which he would prefer ; if he dissolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and destitute of his father's courage, submitted to part with the only men who could support him.

After the dissolution of the parliament, Richard became a cipher in the government ; lord Broghil, afterward earl of Orrery, advised him to the last to support the parliament and declare against the council of officers ; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the same time to have secured Fleetwood and Desborough, as he undertook to do with the hazard of his life, he might have been established ; but the poor-spirited protector told him, that he was afraid of blood ; upon which the captain, lord Howard, made his peace with the king. The officers at Wallingford-house, having carried their point, published a declaration about twelve days after, without so much as asking the protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long-parliament to resume the government, who immediately declared their resolutions for a commonwealth without a single person, or house of peers. Thus was the grandeur of Cromwell's family destroyed by the pride and resentment of some of its own branches : Fleetwood had married the widow of Ireton, one of Oliver's daughters, and being disappointed of the protectorship by his last will, was determined that no single person should be his superior. Desborough, who had married Oliver's sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. Lambert, whom Oliver had dismissed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. These, with sir H. Vane, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the government, and were the

springs of all the confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. Henry Cromwell, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who saw farther into their intrigues at that distance, than the protector who was upon the spot. I shall take the liberty to transcribe some passages out of them to my present purpose.

Upon the surprising news of Oliver's death he writes to his brother, September 18, 1658,—“ I am so astonished at the news of my dear father's sickness and death, that I know not what to say or write on so sad and grievous an occasion ; but the happy news of leaving your highness his successor gives some relief, not only on account of the public, but of our poor family, which the goodness of God has preserved from the contempt of our enemies. I may say without vanity, that your highness has been proclaimed here with as great joy, and general satisfaction (I believe), as in the best-affected places of England ; and I make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army. Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and your highness's predecessor, would support you, and pour down a double portion of the same spirit that was so eminently in him, and would enable you to walk in his steps, and do worthily for his name namesake and people, and continually preserve you in so doing, is the prayer of

“ Yours, &c. H. C.”

In another letter of the same date, sent by an express messenger, he writes, that “ he had caused a very dutiful address to be sent to the army, which had been already signed by several of the field-officers, and when perfected, should be sent to him as a witness against any single officer that should hereafter warp from his obedience ; so that I may and do assure your highness of the active subjection of this army to your government, and will answer for it with my life.—”

In his letter of October 20, 1658, he says, “ If the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I confess it is no more than I looked for, only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their respective charges ; but as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither stem it nor come to an anchor, but must be content to go adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had

raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know ambition and affection of empire never had any bounds. I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine days' wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubtful whether sober men will venture to embark themselves when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections.—I am almost afraid to come over to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for aught I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no question but all the letters will be opened that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your councils.

“I remain yours, &c. H. C.”

In a letter of the same date to his brother-in-law Fleetwood, he writes:

“Dear Brother,

“I received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray give me leave to expostulate with you; How came these two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, their being absent from their charge without licence would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with his highness's privy? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition; but, dear brother, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late highness at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause which had long lain asleep.—I thought my father had pursued it to the last. He died, praying for those that desired to trample on his dust. Let us then not render evil for good, and make his memory stink before he is under ground. Let us remember his last legacy, and for his sake render his successor considerable,

and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do these things tend? What a hurly-burly is there! One hundred Independent ministers called together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judgment. Remember what has always befallen imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing Independent or Anabaptist, be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate or presbytery? And is it a dangerous opinion, that dominion is founded in grace, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a sound principle when it is held by the fifth-monarchy men? Dear brother, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried, that all the people of God, though under different forms; yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not become the magistrate to descend into parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can these things be done, and the world not think his highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits? Dear brother, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable state of the innocent people of these nations: what have these sheep done that their blood should be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late highness loved you; how he honoured you with the highest trust, by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us. And his declaring his highness his successor, shews, that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. O brother! use it to curb extravagant spirits, and busy-bodies, but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother, you must pardon me, if I say God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend, and a good subject. And the great God, in whose presence I speak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you. And

you may rest assured, that you shall always find me your true friend and loving brother.

“ H. C.”

In other letters to lord Broghil, afterward earl of Orrery, with whom he maintained an intimate correspondence, “ he complains of his being forbid to come over into England; and that the clause in his new commission was left out; namely, the power of appointing a deputy, or juries, in order to prevent his coming over to England, which he hopes his highness will permit, there being much more cause to press it now than ever.” “ I find (says he in a letter to the protector) that my enemies have sentenced me to an honourable banishment; I am not conscious of any crime which might deserve it; but if they can denounce judgment upon my innocence, they will easily be able to make me criminal. They have already begot a doubt among my friends, whether all be right; but I will rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it.”—In a letter to secretary Thurloe, he writes, “ that since he was not allowed to leave Ireland, he could do no more than sit still and look on. The elections for parliament are like to be good here (says he), though I could wish the writs had come so timely that the members might have been there before they had been excluded by a vote; which, it is said, will be the first thing brought upon the stage.—” From these, and some other of his letters, it is natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood was at the head of the councils which deposed Richard, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his disappointments of the protectorship. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from public business, and spent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the Revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politics.*

To return :—After the Rump parliament had sat about a week, the officers petitioned, “ 1. That the laws might have

* “ He thought that prayers superseded the use of carnal weapons, and that ‘ it was sufficient to trust in the hand of Providence without exerting the arm of flesh.’ He would fall on his knees and pray when he heard of a mutiny among the soldiers; and was with the utmost difficulty roused to action on several emergencies.” Granger’s History of England, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 17.—ED.

their free course. 2. That all public debts unsatisfied might be paid. 3. That all who profess faith in the holy Trinity, and acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be the revealed will of God, may have protection and encouragement in the profession of their religion, while they give no disturbance to the state, except Papists, Prelatists, and persons who teach licentious doctrines. 4. That the two universities, and all schools of learning, may be countenanced. 5. That those who took part with the king in the late wars, or are notoriously disaffected to the parliament's cause, may be removed from all places of trust. 6. That the protector's debts be paid, and an allowance of 10,000*l.* per annum be allowed to Richard and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a representative of the people, consisting of one house, successively chosen by the people: and that the government of the nation may be placed in such a representative body, with a select senate co-ordinate in power; and that the administration of all executive power of government may be in a council of state, consisting of a convenient number of persons eminent for godliness, and who are, in principle, for the present cause."

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but postponed the affair relating to Richard, till he should acquiesce in the change of government. The protector, having parted with the parliament, who were his chief support, had not the resolution to strike a bold stroke for three kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his high dignity,* by a writing under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight

* Richard Cromwell has been reproached as "extremely pusillanimous," as "a fool and a sot," and "a titmous prince," because he yielded to the times, and relinquished power and royalty. "But in the name of common sense (says Dr. Harris with virtuous animation), what was there weak and foolish in laying down a burden too heavy for the shoulders? What in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confusion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government? Or what, in a word, in resigning the power to such as, by experience, had been found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare? Ambition, glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men, excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in the eyes of the world: but the man who can divest himself of empire for the sake of his fellow-men, must, in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher renown, than the purpled hero who leads them on to slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to him thereby."

Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:

'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.

And why must murder'd myriads lose their all

(If life be all); why desolation lour

With fæmish'd frown on this affrighted ball,

That thou mayst flame the meteor of an hour?—MASON.

Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 214.—ED.

months. How little the soul of Oliver survived in his son Richard may be seen by this conduct! His brother Henry, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more seeming satisfaction than he had accepted the sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his father's debts,* the payment whereof swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was far from being large, considering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for several years. This was a farther contempt thrown upon the protector's memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of state being chosen, the nation seemed to slide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The Presbyterians would have been content with Richard's government; but seeing no likelihood of restoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the Rump-parliament, which was chiefly made up of enthusiasts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royalists, to restore the king and the old constitution. The particulars of this union (says Rapin) are not known, because the historians who write of it, being all royalists, have not thought fit to do so much honour to the Presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the Presbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his restoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an insurrection was formed in several parts of the country, which was discovered by sir Richard Willis, a correspondent of secretary Thurloe's, so that sir George Booth, a Presbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the head of five or six hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mention-

* The parliament instituted, however, an inquiry into the debts of Richard Cromwell, and a schedule of them was given in; by which it appeared, that Richard, even after having reduced his father's debts from 28,000*l.* to 23,550*l.* owed 29,640*l.* It was resolved to acquit Richard Cromwell from this debt, and to provide for the payment of it by the sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-court, belonging to the state, which could be conveniently spared. It was also resolved to settle on him an annuity of 8,700*l.* so as to make to him with his own fortune a yearly income of 10,000*l.* But, through the changes that followed, Richard Cromwell derived no benefit from these resolutions. *Grey's Examination*, vol. 3. p. 241. *Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 208, &c.—*Ed.*

ing the king ; but he and sir Thomas Middleton, who joined him, were defeated by Lambert, and made prisoners.* The king and duke of York came to Calais, to be in readiness to embark in case it succeeded, but upon the news of its miscarriage they retired, and his majesty, in despair, determined to rely upon the Roman-Catholic powers for the future. Several of the Presbyterian ministers appeared in this insurrection, as the reverend Mr. Newcombe of Manchester, Mr. Eaton of Walton, and Mr. Finch chaplain to sir George Booth, all afterward ejected by the act of uniformity.

The parliament, to secure the republican government, first appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to Charles Stuart, and the whole race of king James, and promised fidelity to the commonwealth, without a single person or the house of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had set them up, depending upon the assurances general Monk had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire submission to their orders ; but the English officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own defence, and presented another petition to the house, desiring their former address from Wallingford-house might not lie asleep, but that Fleetwood, whom they had chosen for their general, might be confirmed in his high station. The house demurred upon the petition, and seeing there was like to be a new contest for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers presented a third petition to the same purpose ; but the parliament, being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without just grounds, and cashiered nine of their chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbet, and others of the first rank : by means whereof things were brought to this crisis, that the army must submit to the parliament, or instantly dissolve them. The discarded officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, October 13, Lambert with his forces secured all the avenues to the parliament-house, and as the speaker passed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded major Creed to conduct him back to his

* The parliament so much resented this insurrection, that they disfranchised the city of Chester. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 242.—ED.

house. At the same time all the members were stopped in their passage, and prevented from taking their seats in parliament; Fleetwood having placed a strong guard at the door of the parliament-house for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long-parliament, after they had sat five months and six days, having no army to support them, were turned out of their house a second time, by a company of headstrong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to set up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers, who were masters of the nation, first appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the public, and having restored their general officers, they concluded upon a select number of men to assume the administration, under the title of a Committee of Safety, which consisted of twenty-three persons, who had the same authority and power that the late council of state had, to manage all public affairs, till they could agree upon a new settlement. The people of England were highly disgusted with these changes, but there was no parliament or king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from several parts sent letters to general Monk in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promising him all necessary assistance.

The committee of safety, being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with Monk by Clarges his brother-in-law, but without success; for they had not sat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's resolution to march his army into England to restore them. Upon this Lambert was sent immediately to the frontiers, who, quartering his soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to Monk's march for about a month. In the meantime, the general, in order to gain time, sent commissioners to London, to come to terms with the committee of safety, who were so supple, that a treaty was concluded November 15, but when it was brought to Monk he pretended his commissioners had exceeded their instructions, and refused to ratify it. The council of state, therefore, which sat before the Rump-parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, resolved to gain over Monk to their party, and being assembled privately, sent him a commission, constituting

him general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was the very thing he desired.

At this juncture died serjeant Bradshaw, who sat as judge and pronounced sentence of death on king Charles at his trial: he died with a firm belief of the justice of putting his majesty to death in the manner it was done, and said that if it were to do again, he would be the first man that should do it: he was buried in a very pompous manner in Westminster-abbey, being attended by most of the members of the long-parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, November 22, 1659, but his body was not suffered to rest long in its grave.

The general having secured Scotland, and put garrisons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thousand men; but while Lambert was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his progress, it appeared that the nation was sick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the present anarchy; Portsmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a free parliament, as did several detachments of the army; upon which Lambert retired towards London, and made way for Monk's entering England. The committees of safety, seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing whom to trust, resigned their authority, and restored the parliament, which met again December 26, and would now have been glad to have had Monk back again in Scotland: for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their restoration, and that now he might return to his government in Scotland: but the general, having entered England January 2, continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, lord Fairfax received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men both in city and country. The Rump, being suspicious that Monk had some farther design, either of establishing himself after the example of Cromwell, or of restoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and constant, to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppose the bringing in or setting up any single person or house of lords

in this commonwealth. They also sent Mr. Scot and Robinson to be spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts, to restore the secluded Presbyterian members of 1648, which was the first step towards the king's restoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, lust of power, or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that restoration they were most afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

When the general came to St. Alban's, he sent a message to desire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for Monk's entrance with his forces in a sort of triumph, February 3, 1659—60. Being conducted to the parliament-house, the speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services; and the general having returned the compliment, acquainted the house, "that several applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free parliament; for the admission of the secluded members in 1648, without any previous oath or engagement, and that the present parliament would determine their sitting. To all which he had replied, that they were now a free parliament, and had voted to fill up their house in order to their being a full parliament; but to restore the secluded members without a previous oath to the present government, is what had never been done in England; but he took the liberty to add, that he was of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they took care that neither the cavaliers nor fanatics should have any share in the administration."

The citizens of London being Presbyterians fell in with Monk, in hopes of a better establishment, and came to a bold resolution in common-council February 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the house, to shew their resentments, ordered the general to march into the city; to seize eleven of the most active common-councilmen, and to pull down their gates, chains, and port-cullises. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendship. Monk, having

arrested the common-councilmen, prayed the parliament to suspend the execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and Monk's friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their assistance he could neither support himself nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with Oliver Cromwell, that the Rump-parliament was designed to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the most despotic king. Monk therefore, convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the magistracy of the city, in order to which, he sent his brother Clarges to assure them of his concern for what he had done; and having summoned a council of officers in the night, he sent a letter to the parliament, insisting upon their issuing out writs to fill up their house, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the house voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking measures to satisfy his request; but the general, not willing to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the lord-mayor of London, and the chief Presbyterian ministers, marched his whole army into the city; and a common-council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had sent to the house, assuring them, that he would now stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry citizens, and caused them to treat him as their friend, notwithstanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was spread through the town, the parliament were struck with surprise; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of rumps thrown into them, in contempt of the parliament.

The general, being now supported by the citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded members of 1648, who were of the Presbyterian party;* for this purpose he appointed a conference between them and some of the sitting members, which miscarried, because the sitting members could

* Dr. Grey has given a list of those secluded members. Examination, vol. 3. p. 250.—ED.

not undertake that the parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which Monk resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the city. Accordingly he summoned the secluded members to Whitehall, February 24, and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the nation, and told them "that the citizens of London were for a commonwealth, the old foundations of monarchy being so broken that it could not be restored but upon the ruins of the people, who had engaged for the parliament; for if the king should return (says he) he will govern by arbitrary will and power. Besides, if the government of the state be monarchical, the church must follow, and prelacy be brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and have sworn against; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid Presbyterian government, with liberty of conscience, will be the most acceptable way to the church's settlement."* He then obliged them to subscribe the following articles: "1. To settle the armies so as to preserve the peace. 2. To provide for their support, and pay their arrears. 3. To constitute a council of state for Scotland and Ireland. And, 4. To call a new parliament and dissolve the present." And so dismissed them with a strong party of guards to see them take their places in the house. This speech was very different from what is pretended the general had in view, and seems to have been drawn up by some of the moderate Presbyterians, with whom he kept a close correspondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the house as Cromwell did, yet his discharging the parliament-guards, and placing a strong body of his own horse at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them sufficiently to understand, what would be the consequence of their making opposition.

The house thus enlarged became entirely Presbyterian. They ratified the vote of December 1648, viz. that the king's concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace.—They annulled the engagement of 1649.—They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the war

* Kennel's Chron. p. 63, 64.

raised by both houses of parliament against the king was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence were used upon the parliament in 1648.—They repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart.—They appointed a new council of state, and declared for a free commonwealth—for a learned and pious ministry—for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller livings by the tenths and first-fruits.—They resolved to encourage the two universities, and all other schools of learning.—And, to content the Independents, they voted, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, according to the word of God.

Thus all things seemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. The Presbyterians being now again in the saddle, a day of thanksgiving was kept; after which the city-ministers petitioned for the redress of sundry grievances; as, 1. "That a more effectual course be taken against the Papists. 2. That the Quakers be prohibited opening their shops on the sabbath-day. 3. That the public ministers may not be disturbed in their public services." They requested the house to establish the assembly's Confession of Faith, Directory, and Catechisms; to appoint persons for approbation of ministers, till the next parliament should take farther order; and to call another assembly of divines, to be chosen by the ministers of the several counties, to heal the divisions of the nation.*

In answer to these requests, the house agreed to a bill, March 2, for approbation of public ministers, according to the Directory, and named Mr. Manton, and several others of the Presbyterian persuasion, for that service; which passed into an act March 14. They declared for the assembly's Confession of Faith, except the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of discipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the public confession of faith of the church of England. The act passed the house March 5, and was ordered to be printed; Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Calamy, to have the care of the press. On the same day they ordered the solemn league and covenant to be reprinted, and set up in every church in England, and read publicly by the minister once every year.

Thus presbytery was restored to all the power it had ever

* Kennet's Chron. p. 52. 75.

enjoyed; and the ministers of that persuasion were in full possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, trust, and honour, were put into their hands. The army was in disgrace; the Independents deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the Presbyterians, supported by Monk's forces. After this the long-parliament passed an act for their own dissolution, and for calling a new parliament to meet April 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, that the war against the late king was just and lawful;* and all who had assisted in any war against the parliament since January 1, 1641, they and their sons were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the parliament.† They then appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons, to take care of the government; and dissolved themselves March 16, after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the Restoration, of which general Monk has had the reputation of being the chief instrument. This gentleman was son of sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge in Devonshire, and served the king in the wars for some years, but being taken prisoner he changed sides, and acted for the parliament. He afterward served Oliver Cromwell, and was by him left commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the parliament. Lord Clarendon and Echard say, "he was of a reserved nature, of deep thoughts, and of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he had in sound judgment. That he had a natural secrecy in him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a soldier; a strong body, a mind not easily disordered, an invincible courage, and a sedate and uniform contempt of death, without any frenzy of fanaticism or superstition to turn his head." This is the language of flattery. Others have set him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprising, but had nothing of the gen-

* This was the requisition put to such as sought a commission in the army, rather than to candidates for a seat in parliament: though Kennet, in his margin, applies it to the eligibility of members. He says nothing of the candidates being obliged to sign the declaration. So that Mr. Neal is not quite accurate in his statement of this matter.—Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 85.

tleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he served but Cromwell. Ludlow says, he was a man of covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and scandalous conversation. Father Orleans says, that he was a man of slow understanding. And Whitelocke reports, that the French ambassador said, he had neither sense nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life discovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was sordidly covetous, and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood, as appears in this very affair of the king's restoration. He took the abjuration-oath once under Oliver; and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of Charles Stuart, and swore to be true to the commonwealth, without a single person or house of lords.* And yet in his first message to the king by sir John Grenville, he assures his majesty, that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to serve him till now.† When he came with his army to London, he assured the Rump-parliament of his cheerful obedience to all their commands, and desired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no share in the civil or military power. When he restored the secluded members, he promised the parliament to take effectual care that they should do no hurt. When the commonwealth's men expressed their fears, and asked the general whether he would join with them against the king, he replied, "I have often declared my resolution so to do;" and taking sir Arthur Haslerigge by the hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." He then expostulated with them about their suspicions; "What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house? (says he.) Are they not the same that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?" And yet this very man, within six months, condemned these persons to the gallows. Nay farther, the general sent letters to all the regiments, assuring them that the government should continue a commonwealth, that they had no purpose to

* Welwood's Mem. p. 117, &c.

History of the Stuarts, p. 459.

return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favour of Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured. So that if this gentleman was in the secret of restoring the king from his entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all history to produce a scene of hypocrisy and dissimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. Welwood adds,* that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a Christian; and carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity. Bishop Burnet differs from the doctor, and says, that "though he had both the praise and the reward, yet a very small share of the restoration belonged to him.—The tide ran so strong that the general only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards.—If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired; but he lived long enough to make it known how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance."†

But before we relate the particulars of the Restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject state of the church of England, and the religion of the young king. If Cromwell had lived ten or twelve years longer, episcopacy might have been lost beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of Presbyterian ordination. This was the case in view, which induced some of the ancient bishops to petition the king to fill up the vacant sees with all expedition, in which they were supported by sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer, who prevailed with his majesty to nominate certain clergymen for those high preferments, and sent over a list of the names to Dr. Barwick, to be communicated by him to the bishops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring

* Memoirs, p. 117. 120.

† Burnet's History, vol. 1. p. 126. 12me.

the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no deans and chapters to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *cong  d'elire*, according to ancient custom.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir Edward Hyde was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon the lapse, for the dean and chapters' nonelection. But it was objected, that the supposal of a lapse would impair the king's prerogative more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno jure* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*; nor could they petition for such a licence, because most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts regularly are to be performed.

Dr. Barwick,* who was in England, and corresponded with the chancellor, proposed that his majesty should grant his commission to the bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such dispensative clauses as should be found

* The Dr. Barwick to whom Mr. Neal refers was a singular and eminent character at this period; an active and zealous adherent to the kings Charles I. and II. He managed with great address and dexterity the correspondence of the first with the city of London, when he was at Oxford. He corresponded with the second while he was abroad: and was sent by the bishops, as will afterward appear, with their instructions to him at Breda, where he preached before him, and was made one of his chaplains. He had the chief hand in the Querela Cantabrigiensis, and wrote against the covenant. It was much owing to his influence, that the Cambridge plate was presented to the king: and he is said to have furnished lord Clarendon with a great part of the materials for his history. He was so dexterous in all his communications, as to elude the vigilance of Thurloe. He was born April 20, 1612, at Wetheralack in Westmoreland, and received his classical learning at Sedberg-school in Yorkshire, where he distinguished himself by acting the part of Hercules in one of Seneca's tragedies. In the eighteenth year of his age he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge; where, so eminent were his abilities and attainments, he was chosen, when he was little more than twenty, by the members of his college, to be their advocate in a controverted election of a master, which was heard before the privy-council. He resided some time in Durham-house in London as chaplain to the bishop, Dr. Morton; who bestowed on him a prebend in his cathedral, and the rich rectories of Wolsingham and of Houghton-in-le-Spring. In 1660, Charles II. promoted him to the deanery of Durham; and before the end of the year he was removed from that dignity to the deanery of St. Paul's. On the 18th of February, 1661, he was chosen prolocutor of the convocation. He died in the year 1664, aged fifty-two. He united in his character, with his loyalty, sincere devotion with sanctity of manners, and an undaunted spirit under his sufferings in the royal cause, for which he was imprisoned in a dungeon in the Tower. He was then far gone in a consumption; but living upon gruel and vegetables, he, after some time, recovered to a miracle. See his Life; and Grainger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 257, 8vo. Ed

necessary upon the emergency of the case, his majesty signifying his pleasure concerning the persons and the sees, which commission may bare date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.*

Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, was for the Irish way, where the king has an absolute power of nomination; and therefore no way seemed to him so safe as consecrating the persons nominated to void sees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for destroying the privileges of the church of England in their capitular elections. The old bishop of Ely was so far from wishing, with Dr. Bramhall, that the Irish method might be introduced into England, that he said, if he should live to see the church restored, he would be an humble suitor to his majesty, that the privileges of the English church, in their elections of bishops, might be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. Wren bishop of Ely, and Dr. Cosins of Peterborough, were for an expedient something like the second, to which the court agreed, and Mr. Chancellor Hyde wrote to Dr. Barwick for the form of such a commission as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be dispatched with all possible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old bishops were fearful lest it should be discovered, in which case they were sure to be the sufferers. Dr. Brownrigge of Exeter, and Dr. Skinner of Oxford, declined meddling in the affair; the rest declared their willingness to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occasion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters, says, the king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by those who should be the guardians of it. He censures the slowness of the clergy, and says, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her sons should be timorous and fearful. Such were the chancellor's narrow principles,

* Life of Barwick, p. 204. Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

who seemed to hang the essence of Christianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of ecclesiastical power by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles.

The nonjurors had the like case in view after the Revolution, and provided for it in the best manner they could. But is not the Christian world in a sad condition, if the Christian bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a royal mandate, and the suffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no such officers in the church for three hundred years after the apostles? and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on a regular uninterrupted succession from St. Peter? especially as Baronius a Popish historian confesses, that in a succession of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man sat in the chair; that there had been no popes for some years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the same writer admits between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their several clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right line through so much confusion!

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular consecration of Protestant bishops was a mere farce; for if he was not a Papist before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the Pyrenean treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his interest. Here the king stayed twenty days, in which time his majesty with the earl of Bristol and sir H. Bennet embraced the Roman-Catholic religion. The secret of this affair was well known to lord Clarendon, though he is pleased to mention it with great tenderness. "It is believed (says his lordship) by wise men, that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant interest; and that in a short time there would have been much done against it, both in France and Germany, if the measures they had then taken had not been shortly broken, chiefly by the surprising revolution in England, which happened the next year, and also by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, Don Lewis de Haro, and cardinal Maza-

rine, who both died not long after it.”* But the secret of the king’s reconciliation to the church of Rome has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldest son of lord Clarendon, and by the duke of Ormond, who declared to several persons of honour, that “he himself, to his great surprise and concern, accidentally in a morning early, saw the king in the great church on his knees before the high altar, with several priests and ecclesiastics about him. That he was soon after confirmed in his sentiments by sir Henry Bennet and the earl of Bristol, who both owned the king to be a Catholic as well as themselves; but it was agreed, that this change should be kept as the greatest secret imaginable.” There is another story, says bishop Kennet, which I have reason to think true: “Sir H. Bennet was soon after seen to wait on the king from mass, at which sight the lord Culpeper had so much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and spoke to this effect; ‘I see what you are at; is this the way to bring our master home to his three kingdoms? Well, sir, if ever you and I live to see England together, I will have your head, or you shall have mine;’ which words struck such a terror upon sir Harry Bennet, that he never durst set his foot in England till after the death of lord Culpeper, who met with a very surprising end soon after the king’s return.”†

But though the prime-ministers of France and Spain were now first witnesses of his majesty’s abjuring the Protestant religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a Papist long before, even before his brother James, if we may credit the testimony of his confessor father Huddleston.‡ To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the testimony of the author of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, printed 1689, who writes thus; “The king’s [Charles II.’s] apostacy is not of so late a date as the world is made commonly to believe, for though it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled, yet it is certain he abjured the Protestant religion soon after the exilement of the royal family, and was reconciled to the church of Rome at St. Germain in France. Nor were several of the then-suffering bishops and clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither integrity nor courage to give

* Echard, p. 751.

† Kennet, p. 238.

‡ Welwood’s *Memoirs*, p. 136.

the nation warning of it."* Bishop Burnet, in the History of his Life and Times, confirms this testimony from the cardinal minister, who sent an advertisement of it to the bishop himself; he says, "that before the king left Paris (which was in June 1654) he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known; only cardinal De Retz was in the secret, and lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. Chancellor Hyde had some suspicion of it, but would not suffer himself to believe it quite."† And sir Allen Broderick declared upon his death-bed, that king Charles II. made profession of the Popish religion at Fontainbleau, before he was sent out of France to Cologne.

The Dutch Protestants suspected the change, but the king denied it in the most public manner; for when he was at Brussels in the year 1658, he wrote the following letter to the reverend Mr. Cawton, the Presbyterian minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam.

"CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received so full testimony of your affection to our person, and zeal for our service, that we are willing to recommend an affair to you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that the malice of our enemies should continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, but are concerned that they should find credit with any to make our affection to the Protestant religion suspected, since the world cannot but take notice of our constant and uninterrupted profession of it in all places.—No man has or can more manifest his affection to and zeal for the Protestant religion than we have done. Now, as you cannot but have much conversation with the ministers of the Dutch church, we presume and expect that you will use your utmost diligence and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersions, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked men; and that you assure all that will give credit to you, that we value ourselves so much upon that part of our title, of being defender of the faith, that no worldly consideration can ever prevail with us to swerve from it, and the Protestant religion in which we have been bred, the propagation whereof we shall endeavour with our utmost power. Given at Bruxels, November 7, in the tenth year of our reign."

* Kennet's Chron. p. 598.

† Burnet, vol. 1. p. 103, 104, 12mo.

To carry on the disguise, Dr. Morley afterward bishop of Winchester was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. Trigland, the Dutch minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the king's steadfastness to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated June 7, 1659, a little before the king's going to the Pyrenean treaty, to engage the Roman-Catholic powers for his restoration.*

But to confirm the Presbyterians farther, and to put an end to all suspicions of his majesty's being turned Papist, sir Robert Murray and the countess of Balcarries were employed to engage the most eminent reformed ministers in France, to write to their Presbyterian brethren in England, and assure them of the king's steadfastness in the Protestant faith, and to excuse his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous ministers, not being acquainted with the secret, wrote to their brethren at London to the following purpose :

Monsieur Raymond Gaches, pastor of the reformed church at Paris, to the reverend Mr. Baxter, March 23, 1659—60; —“ I know what odium has been cast upon the king ; some are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion.—I will not answer what truly may be said, that it belongs not to subjects to inquire into the prince's religion ; be he what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, obedience in civil matters is his due. But this prince never departed from the public profession of the true religion ; nor did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at Roan and Rochelle, though he never graced our church at Paris with his presence, which truly grieved us.”†—

Monsieur Drelincourt, another of the French pastors at Paris, writes, March 24,—“ A report is here, that the thing which will hinder the king's restoration, is the opinion conceived by some, of his being turned Roman Catholic, and the fear that in time he will ruin the Protestant religion. But I see no ground for the report, his majesty making no profession of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the aids and advantages offered him upon that condition.—Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to suspect on slight grounds private persons, how can it approve jealousies upon persons so sacred ! Besides, there are in the king's family, and among his domestics, some gentlemen of our

* Kennet's Chron. p. 95.

† Ibid. p. 91, 92.

religion, and my old friends; who at several times have given me assurances of the piety of this prince, and his stability in the profession he makes. Your Presbyterians are now intrusted with the honour of our churches; if they recall this prince without the intervening of any foreign power, they will acquire to themselves immortal glory, and stop their mouths for ever, who charge us falsely as enemies to royalty, and make appear that the maxim, No bishop no king, is falsely imputed to us.”—

The famous monsieur Daillé of Paris, in his letter of April 7, 1660, writes to the same purpose:—“ I know it is reported that the king has changed his religion; but who can believe a thing so contrary to all probability? Nothing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know, that when he has resided in places where the exercise of his religion is not permitted, he has always had his chaplains with him, who have regularly performed divine service. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the king expressed at the endeavours that were used to pervert the duke of Gloucester. And though it is objected, that he never came to our church at Charenton, yet as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, but that it was upon political and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our church, for he has gone to sermon in Caen, and some other towns; and in Holland he heard some sermons from the famous monsieur More, our present colleague. Thus, sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever has been reported till this time, of the change of this prince’s religion, is a mere calumny.”*

Monsieur de L’Angle, minister of the Protestant church at Rouen, wrote upon the same subject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the king’s steadfastness in the Protestant religion. These letters were printed and industriously spread over the whole kingdom.

The king himself in his letter to the house of commons says, “ Do you desire the advancement of the Protestant religion? We have by our constant profession and practice given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and protestations of those of a contrary profession,

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 94, 95.

could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it."

It is a surprising reflection of Mr. Baxter,* upon occasion of these letters: "These divines (says he) knew nothing of the state of affairs in England. They knew not those men who were to be restored with the king. They pray (says he) for the success of my labours, when they are persuading me to put an end to my labours by setting up those prelates, who will silence me and many hundreds more. They persuade me to that which will separate me from my flock, and then pray, that I may be a blessing to them; and yet (says he) I am for restoring the king, that when we are silenced, and our ministry at an end, and some of us lie in prisons, we may there and in that condition have peace of conscience in the discharge of our duty, and the exercise of faith, patience, and charity, in our sufferings." Was there ever such reasoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon these extraordinary paragraphs.

To return back to general Monk in Scotland. As long as the army governed affairs at Westminster, the general was on their side, and entertained Mr. John Collins, an Independent minister, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and Monk's declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed sides, and would fall in with the Presbyterians; upon which Mr. Caryl and Barker were sent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. Owen, expressing their fears of the danger of their religious liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of esteem; and after a few days returned the following answer, in a letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the churches in and about London.

"Honourable and dear friends,

"I received yours, and am very sensible of your kindness expressed to the army in Scotland, in sending such honourable and reverend persons, whom we received with thankfulness and great joy as the messengers of the churches, and the ministers of Christ of these three nations. I do promise you for myself, and the rest of the officers here, that your interest, liberty, and encouragement, shall be very dear to us. And we shall take this as a renewed obligation

* Life, part 2. p. 216.

to assert to the utmost, what we have already declared to the churches of Jesus Christ. I doubt not, but you have received satisfaction of our inclinations to a peaceable accommodation. I do hope, that some differences being obviated, we shall obtain a fair composure. I do assure you, that the great things that have been upon my heart to secure and provide for, are our liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ, which we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, assured in the promises purchased by the blood of our Saviour for us, and given as his great legacy to his church and people; in comparison of which we esteem all other things as dung and dross, but as they have a relation to and dependance upon this noble end. The others are our laws and rights as men, which must have their esteem in the second place; for which many members of the churches have been eminent instruments to labour in sweat and blood for these eighteen years last past, and our ancestors for many hundred years before; the substance of which may be reduced to a parliamentary government, and the people's consenting to the laws by which they are governed. That these privileges of the nation may be so bounded, that the churches may have both security and settlement, is my great desire, and of those with me. So that I hope you will own these just things, and give us that assistance that becomes the churches of Christ, in pursuance of this work. And we do assure you, we shall comply as far as possible, with respect had to the security and safety of the nation, and the preservation of our ancient birthright and liberties. And we shall pray, that we may be kept from going out of God's way in doing God's work.

“ I do, in the name of the whole army and myself, give all our affectionate thanks for this your work of love; and though we are not able to make such returns as are in our hearts and desires to do, yet we shall endeavour, by all ways and means, to express our care and love to the churches, and shall leave the reward to him who is the God of peace, and has in special assured all blessings to the peacemakers. I conclude with the words of David, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, ‘ Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, and blessed be your advice,’ and blessed be you all. Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you, and let his presence be in his churches, and they filled with his glory. I have no more, but to ex-

treat your prayers for a happy issue of this unhappy difference; which is the prayer of him who is, reverend sirs and dear friends, your very affectionate brother and servant,
 “Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659. G. MONK.”

In one of the general's letters to the parliament, written about June 1659, he declares strongly for liberty of conscience, and an absolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the fumes of fanaticism. “You are the people (says he) who have filled the world with wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith; and the promises of God are sure and certain. We acknowledge that we ourselves have very much contributed to the Lord's departing from our Israel, but we see God's hour is come, and the time of the people's deliverance, even the set time, is at hand. He cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin and unworthiness, &c. We humbly beseech you, not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God's people slightly, but to make so sure and lasting provision for both Christian and civil rights, as both this and future generations may have cause to rise up and call you blessed, and the blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in your faces any more.”*—He then desires them to encourage none but godly ministers and magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the government in a free state or commonwealth. Signed by general Monk and twenty-five of his chief officers.

Upon the general's coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous Presbyterian, and thought no more of the Independent churches; he received the sacrament at Mr. Calamy's church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom he approved. He consulted the Presbyterian ministers, and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles, if we may believe the reverend Mr. Sharp, afterward archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose words are these, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. Douglas in Scotland: “Sunday last, March 11, the general sent his coach for Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, and me; we had a long conversation with him in private, and convinced him, that a commonwealth was impracticable;

* Welwood's Memoirs, Appendix, no. 11.

and to our sense beat him off that sconce he has hitherto maintained.—We urged upon him, that the Presbyterian interest, which he had espoused, was much concerned in keeping up this house, and settling the government upon terms. But the subtle general replied, that in regard he had declared so lately against a house of lords, and the continuing this house of commons, he could not so reputably do it.* Afterward, when some gentlemen of quality, suspecting the king to be at the bottom, were earnest with the general, that if the king must be brought in by the next parliament, it might be upon the terms of his late majesty's concessions at the Isle of Wight; the general at first recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a commonwealth; but at last seeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that this was the utmost line he could or would advance in favour of the king; and yet when this was moved in the convention-parliament by sir Matthew Hale, the general stood up, and declared against all conditions, and threatened them that should encourage such a motion with all the mischiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous Presbyterians were gradually drawn into a snare, and made to believe, that presbytery was to be the established government of the church of England under king Charles II.

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their discipline. The general therefore sent letters to the kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their discipline.† But the Scots, not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. Sharp to be their agent, and gave him instructions to use his best endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a toleration in that kingdom. Sharp was to concert measures with Mr. Calamy, Ash, Manton, and Cowper; but these gentlemen being not very zealous for the discipline, Sharp informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which Douglas replied, "It is best that the Presbyterian government be

* Kennet's Chron, p. 81.

† Ibid. p. 50.

settled simply, for you know that the judgment of honest men here is for admitting the king on no other but covenant-terms."

The Independents and Baptists were in such disgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being consulted in this weighty affair. General Monk and the Presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims: the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The Independents offered to stand by their friends in parliament, and to raise four new regiments from among themselves, to force the general back into Scotland. Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye had frequent consultations with Mr. Whitelocke and St. John; and at a private treaty with the officers at Wallingford-house, offered to raise 100,000*l.* for the use of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehensive Monk and the Presbyterians designed to subvert; but those officers had lost their credit; their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty and another for the sword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were dislodged from the city, and Monk in possession. In this confusion their general Fleetwood, who had brought them into this distress, retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became insignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the Independents.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to observe, that the Independents sprang up and mightily increased in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wise and politic people: they divided from the Presbyterians upon the foot of discipline, and fought in the parliament's quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was the cause of God; this inspired their soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, insomuch that when the army was new-modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly seized the person of the king, and treated him with honour till they found him unsteady to his promises of a toleration of their principles, and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterward by the treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be

crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and subverted the whole constitution. This they did, not in consequence of their religious principles, but to secure their own safety and liberty. After the king's death they assumed the chief management of public affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, though they attempted it under several forms: the first was an absolute commonwealth, as most agreeable to their principles; but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they dispossessed them, and set up their own general, with the title of protector, who had skill enough to keep them in awe, though they were continually plotting against his government. After his death they dispossessed his son, and restored the commonwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the title of a Committee of Safety; but they wanted Oliver's head, their new general Fleetwood having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton sporting with the supreme power made the nation sick of such distractions, and yield to the return of the old constitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of Independents and Anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able statesmen as they had been fortunate soldiers; they were brave and resolute men, who had the cause of religion and liberty at heart; but they neglected the old nobility and gentry so much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of estate or interest in his country that would stand by them. As to their moral character, they seem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastic impulses of their own minds. I do not find that they consulted any number of their clergy, though many of the Independent ministers were among the most learned and eminent preachers of the times, as, Dr. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, and Greenhill, &c. some of whom had no small reputation for politics; but their pulling down so many forms

of government, without adhering steadily to any, issued in their ruin. Thus as the army and Independents outwitted the Presbyterians in 1648, the Presbyterians in conjunction with the Scots blew up the Independents at this time; and next year the episcopal party, by dexterous management of the credulous Presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

This year died Dr. Ralph Brownrigge bishop of Exeter, born at Ipswich in the year 1592, educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and at length chosen master of Katherine-hall in that university.* He was also prebendary of Durham, and rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641, he was nominated to the see of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1644, when the earl of Manchester visited it; and complied so far as to keep his mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a sermon he preached upon the anniversary of his majesty's inauguration. He was no favourer of archbishop Laud's innovations;† for while he was vice-chancellor he sent for one of Mr. Barwick's pupils, and said to him, "I wonder your tutor, no ill man in other respects, does not yet abstain from that form of worship [bowing towards the east] which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent parliament, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous rock of every error, whether it savour of the impiety of Arminianism, or of the superstition of Popery."‡

* He was esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his time to this seminary. He was one of those excellent men with whom archbishop Tillotson cultivated an acquaintance at his first coming to London, and by whose preaching and example he formed himself. His sermons were not exceeded by any published in that period; and they derived great advantage, in the delivery, from the dignity of his person and the justness of his elocution. Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 161, 8vo.—Ed.

† Dr. Grey neglects not to inform the reader, on the authority of Dr. Gauden, that bishop Brownrigge was tenacious of the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government, of the church of England; "which (he said) he liked better and better as he grew older." He seems to have been very free in his advice to Cromwell: for when the protector, with some shew of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some public affairs, then at a nonplus, bishop Brownrigge, with his wonted gravity and freedom, replied, "My lord, the best counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's:" with which free answer the protector rested rather silenced than satisfied. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 258.—Ed.

‡ Life of Barwick, p. 17.

He was succeeded by Dr. Spurstow ; and suffered in common with the rest of the bishops ; but being a Calvinist, and a person of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector Cromwell to be a preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, December 7, 1659, about the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. Gauden says, he was a person of great candour, sweetness, gravity and solidity of judgment. He was consulted by Mr. Baxter and others in several points of controversy, and was indeed a most humble Christian, and very patient under most severe fits of the stone, which were very acute and tedious for some time before his death.

The reverend Mr. Charles Herle, sometime prolocutor of the assembly of divines at Westminster, was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lystwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598.* He was educated in Exeter-college, Oxon. In the year 1618, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterward rector of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the richest livings in England, and was always esteemed a Puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the assembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. Twisse in 1646 was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death he retired to his living at Winwick, and was in very high esteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers, together with Mr. Isaac Ambrose and Mr. Gee. He was a moderate Presbyterian, and left behind him some practical and controversial writings. Mr. Fuller says,† he was so much of a Christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment. He died at his parsonage at Winwick in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in his own church, September 29, 1659.

The reverend Mr. Thomas Cawton, born at Raynham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge ; he was afterward minister of Wivenhoe in Essex, 1637, and at last of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was, says the Oxford historian,‡ a learned and religious Puritan, driven into exile for preaching against the murder of king

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 151, 152. † Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 305.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 432.

Charles I. and for being in the same plot with Mr. Love, for raising money to supply the army of king Charles II. when he was coming into England to recover his right. He fled to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the English church there, where he died August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.*

The new year [1660] began with the restoration of king Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. The long-parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the people were busy in choosing a new one, general Monk was courted by all parties. The republicans endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the government either as king or protector, which, it is said, he would have accepted, if sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had not prevented it, by summoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commissions from some of his most trusty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this as it will, it is certain Monk had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majesty had sent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an express messenger, with the largest offers of reward.

The Presbyterians were now in possession of the whole power of England; the council of state, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garrisons, were theirs; their clergy were in possession of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyalist, or professed Episcopalian, in any post of honour or trust: nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the qualification-act, that all who had been in arms against the long-parliament, should be disqualified from serving in the next. The whole government therefore was with the Presbyterians, who were shy of the Independents as of a body of men more distant from the church, and more inclined to the commonwealth. They

* Mr. Cawton had few equals in learning, and scarcely a superior in piety. Those great works, the Polyglot Bible, and Dr. Castle's Polyglot Lexicon, owed much to his encouragement and exertions. It shewed a most deep seriousness of spirit, though probably mingled with superstitious notions of the Lord's supper, that he fainted, when he first received it; and he ever afterward expressed, at that solemnity, the profoundest reverence and most elevated devotion. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 47.—Ed.

were no less vigilant to keep out of parliament the republicans of all sorts, some of whom, says Burnet,* ran about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand, they secretly courted the Episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the people, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all rancour, malice, and animosities, under the foundation of his majesty's restoration. "We reflect (say they) upon our sufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons whatsoever who have been instrumental in them; and if the indiscretion of any particular persons shall transport them to expressions contrary to this general sense, we shall disclaim them."† This was signed by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen.‡ Dr. Morley and some of his brethren met privately with the Presbyterian ministers, and made large professions of lenity and moderation, but without descending to particulars. The king and chancellor Hyde carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, says, that "the king very well approved that Dr. Morley and some of his brethren should enter into conferences, and have frequent conversation with the Presbyterian party, in order to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient (says he) to assure them of present good preferments; but in my opinion you should rather endeavour to win over those who, being recovered, will both have reputation, and desire to merit from the church, than be over-solicitous to comply with the pride and passion of those who propose extravagant things."§ Such was the spirit or professions of the church-party, while they were decoying the others into the snare! The Presbyterian ministers did not want for cautions from the Independents and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new allies, but they would neither hear, see, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence; and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the merit and glory of the Restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act

* History, vol. 1. p. 123, 12mo.

† Baxter, p. 216. 218. History of the Stuarts, p. 458.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121. 144. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 217.

§ Life of Barwick, p. 525.

openly with them, but desired the Episcopal clergy to lie still for fear of the people, and leave the conducting this great affair to the hands it was in.

Accordingly the Presbyterian ministers wrote to their friends in their several counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to serve in the next parliament, so that in some counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the disabling cause. Dr. Barwick says, they paid no regard to it, and Monk declared, that if the people made use of their natural rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve, no injury should be done them. So that when the houses met it was evident to all wise men it would be a court-parliament.

But the Scots were more steady to the covenant, and sent over the reverend Mr. James Sharp, with the earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, to Holland, humbly to put his majesty in mind, that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the Presbyterian establishment, without indulgence to sectaries. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in the address to the same purpose: and some of the English Presbyterians were of the same mind; ten of whom met the Scots commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the general, not to restore the king but upon the concessions made by his father in the Isle of Wight.* But this was only the resolution of a few; the majority, says Mr. Sharp, were for moderate episcopacy, upon the scheme of archbishop Usher, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. Barwick adds,† “What the Presbyterians aimed at, who were now superior to the Independents, was, that all matters should be settled according to the treaty of the Isle of Wight,” which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church-matters to a conciliatory synod, the divines of each party to be summoned when the king should be settled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the Presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cause. The Scots kirk stood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. Calamy, Manton, and Ash, informed them in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing

* Kennet's Chron. p. 101. 104. 110.

† Life, p. 236.

presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it, and fly to archbishop Usher's moderate episcopacy.* Thus they were beaten from their first works.

But if the tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the sluices and let in the enemy at once, without a single article of capitulation? It is hard to account for this conduct of the Presbyterians, without impeaching their understandings. Indeed the Episcopal clergy gave them good words, assuring them, that all things should be to their minds when the king was restored; and that their relying upon the royal word would be a mark of confidence which his majesty would always remember, and would do honour to the king, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced the ministers to give up a cause that had cost so much treasure and blood, and become humble petitioners to those who were now almost at their mercy? For they could not but be sensible, that the old constitution must return with the king, that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment, that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the church of England.

But notwithstanding this infatuation and vain confidence in the court and the clergy, Mr. Echard would set aside all their merit, by saying, "Whatever the Presbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve themselves from the oppression of the Independents, who had wrested the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the king and church." Directly contrary to his majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which says, "When we were in Holland we were attended with many grave and learned ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion, whom to our great satisfaction and comfort we found to be full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to episcopacy or liturgy." Bishop Burnet acknowledges,† that many of the Presbyterian ministers, chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the design of the restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success, that they had great

* Kennet's Chron. p. 278.

† Vol. 1. p. 259.

merit, and a just title to very high preferments. Mr. Baxter* gives the following reasons of their conduct. "The Presbyterians (says he) were influenced by the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themselves bound to do their utmost to restore the king, let the event be what it will." But then he adds, "Most of them had great expectations of favour and respect; and because the king had taken the covenant they hoped he would remove subscriptions, and leave the Common Prayer and ceremonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of the churches. Some, who were less sanguine, depended on such a liberty as the Protestants had in France; but others, who were better acquainted with the principles and tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would do their parts to restore the king, because no foreseen ill consequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty." Surely these were better Christians than casuists! When the ministers waited on his majesty in Holland, he gave them such encouraging promises, says Mr. Baxter, as raised in some of them high expectations. When he came to Whitehall he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went to the house to quicken the passing the act of indemnity, he said, "My lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now here. I pray let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come hither." Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were most to blame, the Episcopal party, for breaking through so many solemn vows and protestations; or the Presbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and trusting a set of men whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse for the former; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the dissolution of the long-parliament, and the meeting of the convention which brought in the king, general Monk, seeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the stream, and ventured to correspond more

* Life, p. 216.

freely with the king by sir J. Grenville, who brought the general a letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the king to remove out of the Spanish dominions, and promised, that if his majesty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the sessions. Bishop Burnet says, that he had like to have let the honour slip through his fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him.*

The convention met April 25, the earl of Manchester being chosen speaker of the house of peers, and sir Harbottle Grimstone of the commons. At the opening the sessions Dr. Reynolds preached before the houses. April 30 was appointed for a fast, when Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hardy preached before the lords, and Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy, and Baxter, before the commons; all except Gauden of the Presbyterian party. Lord Clarendon says, the Presbyterian party in the house were rather troublesome than powerful; but others with great probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at first of that party. Next day after the fast, the king by the advice of the general having removed privately to Breda, and addressed letters to both houses; the general stood up and acquainted the speaker, that one sir J. Grenville had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not presumed to open it; and that the same gentleman attended at the door with another to the house. Sir John was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar withdrew, and carried another to the lords.† The letter contained an earnest invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled peace; his majesty promising an act of oblivion for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament, for the future.

Under the same cover was enclosed his majesty's declaration from Breda, granting "a general pardon to all his loving

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 123.

† Two days after sir John Grenville received the thanks of the house, for delivering the king's letter, in a high strain of joy and adulation: and the house voted him 500*l.* to buy a jewel, as a badge of the honour due to the person whom "the king had honoured to be the messenger of his gracious message." The city of London also presented to him and lord Mordaunt, who brought them his majesty's letter, 300*l.* to buy them rings. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 260, 261, and note (c).—Ed.

subjects who should lay hold of it within forty days, except such who should be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted (says he), let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king solemnly given, that no crime committed against us, or our royal father, shall ever be brought into question to the prejudice of their lives, estates, or reputation. We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom. And we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.—” Upon reading these letters, the commons voted, that according to the ancient constitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majesty to return to his dominions: money was voted to defray his expenses; a deputation of lords and commons was sent to attend his majesty; and the fleet was ordered to convey him home. Sir Matthew Hale moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propositions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the motion; but Monk, who was prepared for such a motion, stood up and said; “the nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch trying where they could first raise a flame; that he could not answer for the peace of the kingdom or army, if any delays were put to the sending for the king. What need is there of it (says he), when he is to bring neither arms nor treasure along with him?” He then added, “that he should lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that might follow, on the heads of those who should insist upon any motion that might retard the present settlement of the nation.”* Which frightened the house into a compliance. And this was all the service general Monk did towards the king’s restoration, for which he was rewarded with a garter, a dukedom, a great estate in land, and with one of the highest posts of honour and profit in the kingdom.

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering representations made by lord Cla-

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 123, 124, 12mo.

rendon in his letters of the king's good-nature, virtue, probity, and application to business;* so that when the earl of Southampton saw afterward what the king was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to the chancellor, "that it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the king, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely." To which Hyde answered, that "he thought the king had so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off these entanglements." But here the chancellor was mistaken.

When the lords and commons sent over a deputation to the king at Breda, the London ministers moved that a pass might be granted to some of their number, to wait upon his majesty with an address from their brethren; accordingly Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Hall, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Case, were delegated, who went over with three or four attendants, and had an audience May 17, wherein, according to lord Clarendon, "they magnified their own, and the affection of their friends, who had always wished his majesty's restoration, according to the covenant, and had lately informed the people of their duty to invite him home. They thanked God for his majesty's constancy to the Protestant religion, and declared themselves no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only they desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgments that used them were indifferent, but by others were held to be unlawful."† But the tables were now turned: the king spoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their services, but told them, he would refer all to the wisdom of the parliament. At another audience (if we may believe the noble historian) they met with very different usage; for when they entreated his majesty at his first landing not to use the Book of Common Prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aside, the king replied with some warmth, "that

* Clarendon, p. 88, 89.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 139. Compl. Hist. p. 247.

while he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken away. That he had always used that form of service which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them. That when he came into England he should not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, but he would have no other used in his own chapel.* They then besought him with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because it would give offence; but the king was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long used in the church; that it had been still retained by him, and that he would never discountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. Mr. Baxter says, the king gave them such encouraging promises of peace, as raised some of them to high expectations. He never refused them a private audience when they desired it; and to amuse them farther, while they were once waiting in an antichamber, his majesty said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the ministers might hear him; "he thanked God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit; that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended Heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr. Case lifted up his hands to heaven,† and blessed God who had given them a praying king.

Though the bishops held a private correspondence with chancellor Hyde, and by him were assured of the king's favour, they were not less forward than the Presbyterians in their application to his majesty himself; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. Barwick was sent over with the following instructions:—

* Kennet's Chren. p. 152.

† Mr. Daniel Dyke, who, soon after the Restoration, voluntarily resigned the living of Hadham-Magna in Hertfordshire, shewed more discernment and judgment. For when Mr. Case, to induce him to continue in it, related the king's behaviour, and argued what a hopeful prospect it gave them, Mr. Dyke wisely answered, "that they did but deceive and flatter themselves; that if the king was sincere in his show of piety and great respect for them and their religion; yet, when he came to be settled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over with him, would have the management of public affairs, and would discomvent all their designs, and in all probability not only turn them out, but take away their liberty too." Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 357; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 43.—Ed.

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the lord-chancellor of England, and beg his lordship's assistance to present a most humble petition to his majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships' letters to the chancellor, to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and to the secretary of state, wherein they returned those great men their most thankful acknowledgments, for their piety and affection to the church in the late most afflicted state.

2. He was then to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the bishops back his majesty's commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them, to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his majesty's pleasure, with regard to some of the bishops waiting on the sea-coast to pay their duty to his majesty, when by God's blessing he should soon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleasure, that they should attend him there in their episcopal habits; and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majesty pleased should wait his arrival.

4. He was also to inquire concerning the number of his majesty's chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his arrival upon the coast; and to beg that his majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his majesty, that if Dr. Lushington, formerly the king's chaplain, should offer to officiate in that capacity, his majesty would be pleased not to indulge him in that favour, till inquiry should be made concerning his suspected faith and principles. [He was a Socinian.]

6. Since it has been customary for our kings to celebrate public thanksgivings in St. Paul's cathedral, he was humbly to beseech his majesty, to signify what was his royal pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous estate of that church.

7. His last instruction was to give a just and due account to his majesty, why the affair filling up the vacant sees had met with no better success.

Mr. Barwick was most graciously received by the king and his ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda was

appointed to preach before his majesty.* The court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the Presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home; the Episcopal clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their sermons; Dr. Griffith, having preached an angry sermon before the general at Mercers-Hall, March 25, on Prov. xxiv. 21; "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change," was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was released, and published his sermon with a dedication to the general.—Others in their sermons took upon them to threaten those who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the king being advised, commanded chancellor Hyde to acquaint his correspondents, that he was extremely apprehensive of inconvenience and mischief to the church and himself, from offences of that kind, and ordered him to desire Mr. Barwick and Dr. Morley to use their credit and authority with such men, and to let them know from his majesty the tenderness of the conjuncture. The chancellor accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16, 1660, wrote the king's sense, and added, that if occasion required they were to speak to the bishops of Ely and Salisbury to interpose their authority to conjure these men to make a better judgment of the season, and not to awaken those jealousies and apprehensions which all men should endeavour to extinguish. "And truly I hope (says the chancellor), if faults of this kind are not committed, that both the church and the kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident these good men will be more troubled that the church should undergo a new suffering by their indiscretion, than for all that they have suffered hitherto themselves."

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to shift for himself. Richard Cromwell resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond sea: he had offered to relinquish it when he was divested of the protectorship, as appears by his letter on that occasion, which says,—"You should have had fuller experience of my high esteem for learning and learned men, if Providence had continued me in my high station; but as I

* Life of Barwick, p. 519, note.

accepted of the honour of being your chancellor in order to promote your prosperity, I assure you I will divest myself of the honour when it will contribute to your advantage.* Accordingly, as soon as the king's return was voted, he sent them the following resignation :

" Gentlemen,

" I shall always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office,—I do therefore most freely resign and give up all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity, that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still abide flourishing and fruitful. Gentlemen,

" Hursley, Your affectionate friend and servant,

" May 8, 1660.

RICH. CROMWELL."

Thus Richard went off the stage of public action. "As he was innocent of all the evil his father had done (says Burnett†), so there was no prejudice laid against him. Upon his advancement to the protectorship, the city of London, and almost all the counties of England, sent him addresses of congratulation; but when he found the times too boisterous he readily withdrew, and became a private man; and as he had done no hurt to any body, so nobody ever studied to hurt him. A rare instance of the instability of human greatness; and of the security of innocence! In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times; but those who knew him well in the latter part of life have assured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with public affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. Clarke.‡ He died at Theobalds about the year 1712.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 141.

† Vol. 1. p. 116, 117.

‡ Under this name he lived, for some years, privately at Hursley about seven miles from Remsey, now the seat of sir Thomas Heathcote, bart. and attended the

The king landed at Dover May 26, and came the same night to Canterbury, where he rested the next day, and on Tuesday, May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable crowd of spectators.* As he passed along, old Mr. Authur Jackson, an eminent Presbyterian minister, presented his majesty with a rich embossed Bible, which he was pleased to receive, and to declare it his resolution to make that book the rule of his conduct.†

Two days after the king's arrival at Whitehall, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after a short congratulatory speech passed an act, turning the present convention into a parliament. After which the houses for themselves, and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majesty's most gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been observed, no royalist could have sat in the house; however, their numbers were inconsiderable; the convention was a Presbyterian parliament, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking arms against the late king till the year 1648;‡ for when Mr. Lenthall, speaker of the long-parliament, in order to shew the sincerity of his repentance, had said, that he that first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head; he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the present speaker, by order of the house.

"Sir,

"The house has taken great offence at what you have said, which, in the judgment of the house, contains as high a reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of the lords and commons of the last parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the said words, and that they were spoken out of

meeting-house in Romsey. The pew in which he used to sit is still in being, and preserved entire at the church's removal to their new house, as a relic worthy of notice. Mr. Thomson's MS. Collections, under the word Romsey.—Ed.

* Dr. Grey gives from Echard and Heath a description of the procession.—Ed.

† Baxter's Life, p. 218.

‡ Echard, p. 766.

design to inflame, and to render them who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into balance with them who cut off the king's head; of which they express their abhorrence and detestation. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time in this parliament but when they had considerations of mercy and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence. Nevertheless, I am, according to command, to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can reprehend you for it."

But it was to little purpose to justify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court;* for though they stopped short of the lengths of the next parliament, they increased his majesty's revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The restoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one single article for the securing men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was, as bishop Burnet observes,† the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate observes, the restoration of the king in this high and absolute manner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miscarriages; so that if the revolution by king William and queen Mary had not taken place, the restoration had been no blessing to the nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the Rump had no power to appoint keepers of the liberties of England; nor had the keepers a right to issue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the subsequent choice of the people, make them so. All the laws therefore made by this convention, and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders in pursuance of them, were not strictly legal; which the court were so apprehensive of that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention-parliament had set about eight months, it was dissolved December 29, partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much Presbyterian; the prime minister

* Rapin, p. 258.

† Page 126.

[Hyde] having now formed a design, in concert with the bishops, of evacuating the church of all the Presbyterians.

The managing Presbyterians still buoyed themselves up with hopes of a comprehension within the church, though they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from directors were become humble supplicants to those very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor Hyde and the bishops; but to keep them quiet, his majesty condescended, at the instance of the earl of Manchester, to admit ten of their number into the list of his chaplains in ordinary, viz. Drs. Reynolds, Spurstow, Wallis, Manton, Bates; Mr. Calamy, Ashe, Case, Baxter, and Woodbridge.*

But none of these divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, each of them once. Here again the Presbyterians were divided in their politics, some being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Ashe, who were entirely directed by the earl of Manchester, and had frequent assemblies at his house; to them were joined Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and most of the city-ministers; but Dr. Seamen, Mr. Jenkins, and others, were of another party; these were a little estranged from the rest of their brethren, and meddled not with politics, says Mr. Baxter,† because the court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their superiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the king's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was restored to his majesty's chapel, and in several churches both in city and country; for it was justly observed, that all acts and ordinances of the long-parliament which had not the royal assent were in themselves null, and therefore prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the Common Prayer the only legal form of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his declaration had desired, that

* Kennet's Chron. p. 162.

† Baxter's Life, p. 229.

the Presbyterians would read so much of the liturgy as they themselves had no exception against, but most of them declined the proposal.* But to set an example to the rest of the nation the house of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. Marston to read divine service before them, in his formalities, according to the Common Prayer-book; and the Sunday following Dr. Gauden preached, and administered the sacrament to several of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31st of May they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly used should be constantly read in their house, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, shall be on any who are not present. The house of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who scrupled the use of the service-book, were prosecuted for offending against the statutes made in that behalf; the justices of the peace and others insisting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them.

The old sequestered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their sufferings, and making interest for preferment; every one took possession of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had lost their livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late powers, were restored, yet that those ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for scandal, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However, where the incumbent was dead, his majesty yielded that the living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. Goodwin having resigned his presidentship of Magdalen-college, the lords ordered, "that Dr. Oliver be restored in as full and ample manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleasure of his majesty be farther known. And the three senior fellows were appointed to put this order in execution."† The eject-

* Kenet's Chron. p. 432.

† Ibid. p. 152.

ed fellows of New-college, Oxon, petitioned at the same time to be restored; upon which the lords ordered, May 19, that "Robert Grove, John Lampshire, &c. late fellows of New-college, Oxon, and all others who were unjustly ejected out of their fellowships, be forthwith restored; and that all such fellows as have been admitted contrary to the statute be forthwith ejected; and that no new fellows be admitted contrary to the statutes."* And to prevent farther applications of this kind, the lords passed this general order, June 4, "that the chancellors of both universities shall take care that the several colleges in the said universities shall be governed according to their respective statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly put out of their headships, fellowships, or other officers relating to the several colleges or universities, may be restored according to the said statutes of the university, and founders of colleges therein."†

Pursuant to this order, there followed a very considerable change in both universities, commissioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all causes relating to this affair, who in the months of August and September restored all such as were unmarried to their respective places. In the university of Oxford, besides Dr. Oliver already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were restored, and the present possessors ejected.

<i>Heads of colleges restored, August 3.</i>	<i>President of</i>	<i>In the place of heads ejected.</i>
Dr. Hannibal Potter,	Trinity-college	Dr. Seth Ward
Dr. Richard Bayly,	St. John's college	Mr. Thank. Owen
Dr. Francois Mansel,	Jesus-college	Mr. Francois Howel
Dr. Robert Newlin,	Corpus Christi-college	Dr. Edward Staunton
Dr. Gilbert Sheldon,	All Souls-college	Dr. Meredith, dec.
Dr. Thomas Yate,	Brazen Nose-college	Dr. D. Greenwood
Mr. Henry Wightwick,	Pembroke-college	Dr. Henry Langley.

N. B. This Mr. Wightwick was ejected a second time 1664.

Mr. Henry Wightwick,	St. Mary's-hall	Mr. Thomas Cole
Dr. Robert Saunderson	Regius Prof. in Divinity	Dr. John Conant
Dr. Thomas Willis	Nat. Phil. reader	Dr. Josh. Crosse
Dr. John Fell	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. and Uni.	{ Mr. Ralph Batton
Dr. Robert South	{ orator	
Dr. Thomas Barlow	{ Can. of Christ-church and	{ Dr. H. Wilkinson, sen.
	{ Marg. Prof.	

Besides these, all surviving ejected fellows of colleges were restored without exceptions, and such as had been

* Kennet's Clron. p. 153.

† Ibid. p. 173.

nominated by the commissioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the statutes, were ejected, and their places declared vacant.

The like alterations were made in the university of Cambridge. The earl of Manchester, chancellor, was obliged to send the following letter to the university, dated August 3, for restoring Dr. Martin to the mastership of Queen's college, whom he had ejected for scandal by letters under his hand, dated March 13, 1643.

"Whereas I am informed, that Dr. Ed. Martin has been wrongfully put out of his mastership; these are to signify, to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an authority given to me, by the lords assembled in parliament, restore him to his said mastership, together with all lodgings, &c. appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have and enjoy all profits, rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging thereunto, unless cause be shewn to the contrary within ten days after the date hereof."* This gentleman was accordingly restored, and with him several others; as,

<i>Heads of colleges restored.</i>	<i>Master of</i>	<i>In place of heads ejected,</i>
Dr. J. Cosins	Peter-house	Dr. Lazarus Seaman
Dr. Thomas Paske	Clare-hall	{ Resigned to Dr. The.
Dr. Benjamin Laney	Pembroke-hall	{ Dillingham
Dr. Robert King	Trinity-hall	Mr. William Moses
r. Richard Sterne	Jesus-college	Mr. Bond
Dr. Edw. Rainbowe	{ Magdalen-college, ejected for refusing Eng.	Mr. J. Worthington
		Mr. John Sadleir.

All the surviving fellows unmarried were restored, as in the other university, by which means most of the Presbyterians were dispossessed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands.† To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the church, the honours of the universities were offered to almost any who would declare their aversion to presbytery, and hearty affection for episcopal government.‡ It was his majesty's pleasure, and the chancellor's, that there should be a creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the university by the visitors in 1648. Accordingly between seventy and eighty masters of arts were created this year; among whom, says the Oxford historian, some that had not been sufferers thrust themselves into the

* Kennet's Chron. p. 221, 222.

† Fasti, p. 120.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, &c.

crowd for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favour of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created bachelors of divinity, seventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of physic, besides doctors of laws. The creations in the university of Cambridge were yet more numerous. On Midsummer-day, a grace passed in the university in favour of some candidates for degrees.* August 2, the king sent letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten persons doctors of divinity;† and on the 5th of September there were created, by virtue of his majesty's mandamus, no less than seventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of physic, and five bachelors of divinity. So that within the compass of little more than six months, the universities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties.—Some of these were deserving persons, but the names of most of them are no where to be found but in the university-registers. Had the parliament-visitors in 1648, or Oliver Cromwell in his protectorship, made so free with the honours of the universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the illiterate, and prostitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a royal mandamus, without inquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any academical exercise, must be covered with a veil, because it was for the service of the church. In the midst of these promotions, the marquis of Hertford, chancellor of the university of Oxford, died, and was succeeded by sir Edward Hyde, now lord-chancellor of England, and created about this time earl of Clarendon. He was installed November 15, and continued in this office till he retired into France in the year 1667.

These promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; July 5, Drs. Killigrew, Jones, Doughty, and Bushy, were installed prebendaries of Westminster; and within a month or six weeks four more were added.‡ In the months of July and August, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve divines were installed prebendaries in the cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 188.

† Ibid. p. 220. 251.

‡ Ibid. p. 199.

all the dignities in the cathedrals of Durham, Chester, Litchfield, Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, &c. were supplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times.*—There were only nine bishops alive at the king's restoration, viz.

Dr. William Juxon,	bishop of London
Dr. William Pierse,	Bath and Wells
Dr. Matthew Wren,	Ely
Dr. Robert Skinner,	Oxford
Dr. William Roberts,	Bangor
Dr. John Warner,	Rochester
Dr. Bryan Duppa,	Sarum
Dr. Henry King,	Chichester
Dr. Accepted Frewen,	Litchf. and Coventry.†

In order to make way for a new creation, some of the bishops abovementioned were translated to better sees; as,

Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of decency, says bishop Burnet,‡ as being the eldest and most eminent of the surviving bishops: he never was a great divine, but was now superannuated.

Dr. Accepted Frewen was translated to York, September 22, and confirmed October 4. He was the son of a Puritanical minister, and himself inclined that way, till some time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyalist, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the see of Litchfield and Coventry: he made no figure in the learned world,§ and died in the year 1664.

Dr. Bryan Duppa was translated to Winchester, and confirmed October 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the service. He was a meek humble man, and much beloved for his good temper, says bishop Burnet,|| and would have been more esteemed if he had died before the Restoration, for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him as was expected.¶

* Kennet's Chron. p. 204.

† Ibid. p. 252.

‡ Vol. 1. p. 257.

§ Dr. Grey observes, however, on the authority of Wood, that Dr. Frewen, though he published only a Latin oration with some verses on the death of prince Henry, was esteemed a general scholar and a good orator. He was buried in his cathedral-church, and a splendid monument was erected over his grave. He bequeathed 1000*l.* to Magdalen-college, Oxon; of which he had been president. Wood's Athens Oxon. vol. 2. p. 663, 664. Godwinus de Præcælibus curæ Richardson, p. 714.—Ed.

|| Page 258.

¶ Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal for adopting this mistake of bishop Burnet, and says that Dr. Duppa's charities were extraordinary. He gave for redeeming of captives, building and endowing elms-houses, with other charitable deeds, in benevolence, repairs, &c. 16,000*l.* and was so good to his tenants as to abate 30,000*l.* in fines. Richardson says, that during the two years he lived after his translation to the see of Winchester, he expended great sums in public services; and was medi-

To make way for the election of new bishops in a regular and canonical manner, it was first necessary to restore to every cathedral a dean and chapter; which being done,

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was advanced to the see of London; he was esteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had since engaged so deep in politics, says bishop Burnet,* that scarce any prints of what he had been remained; he was a dexterous man in business, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reason the king looked upon him as a wise and honest clergyman. He was one of the most powerful and implacable adversaries of the Nonconformists.

Dr. Henchman was consecrated bishop of Sarum, and Dr. George Morley bishop of Worcester, October 28. December 2, seven bishops were consecrated together in St. Peter's, Westminster, viz.

Dr. John Cosins,	bishop of Durham
Dr. William Lawes,	St. David's
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Peterborough
Dr. Hugh Lloyd,	Landaff
Dr. Richard Sterne,	Carlisle
Dr. Bryan Walton,	Chester
Dr. John Gauden,	Exeter.

On the 6th of January following four other bishops were consecrated, viz.

Dr. Gilbert Ironside,	bishop of Bristol
Dr. Edward Reynolds,	Norwich
Dr. Nicholas Monk,	Hereford
Dr. William Nicholson,	Gloucester.

Four or five sees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the Presbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be seen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite so ripe for execution; the Scots parliament disannulled the covenant, but episcopacy was not established in either of the kingdoms till next year.

tating more undertakings. He built an alms-house at Richmond, and endowed it by his will with 1500*l*. He bequeathed 200*l*. to the alms-house at Pembroke in Herts; and, to omit private donations, he left to the church of Salisbury 500*l*. of Winchester 200*l*. of St. Paul's, London, 300*l*. and of Cirencester, 200*l*. *Grey's Examination*, vol. 3. p. 276; and Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 243.—ED.

* Page 257.

The English hierarchy being restored to its former pre-eminence, except the peerage of the bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the malecontents; the Independents and Anabaptists petitioned the king only for a toleration;* and the English Papists, depending upon their interest at court, offered his majesty 100,000*l.* before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majesty ordered the chancellor to insert the following clause in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs—That others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace; and that no justice of peace offer to disturb them.† When this was debated in the king's presence after the Restoration, the bishops wisely held their peace; but Mr. Baxter, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his dislike of a toleration of Papists and Socinians; which his majesty took so very ill, that he said, the Presbyterians were a set of men who were only for setting up themselves. These still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, but the Independents and Baptists were in despair.

And here was an end of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The Puritan ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The universities were said to be reduced to a mere Munster; and that if the Goths and Vandals, and even the Turks, had overrun the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbarism, disloyalty, and ignorance; and yet in these times, and by the men who then filled the university-chairs, were educated the most learned divines and eloquent preachers of the last age, as the Stillingfleets, Tillotsons, Bulls, Barrows, Whitbys, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were rejected and displaced. The religious part of the common people have been stigmatized with the character of hypocrites; their looks, their dress, and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge these declaimers to produce any period of time since the Reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance

* Kennet's Chron. p. 142.

† Compl. Hist. p. 258.

of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigour and preciseness in indifferent matters; but the lusts of men were laid under a visible restraint; and though the legal constitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by false politics, yet better laws were never made against vice, or more vigorously executed. The dress and conversation of people were sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: there was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, and catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kind of games, stage-plays, and abuses in public houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almost twenty years. The Lord's day was observed with unusual reverence; and there were a set of as learned and pious youths training up in the university as had ever been known. So that if such a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. The times which followed the Restoration were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. A proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of these disorders; being devoted to his pleasures, and having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness; his bishops and chaplains said, that he usually came from his mistresses' apartments to church, even on sacrament-days.* There were two play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the court. Women-actresses were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage; and

* Kennet's Chron. p. 167.

the more obscene, the king was the better pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, reveling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices. From court the contagion spread like wildfire among the people, insomuch that men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety, under colour of drinking the king's health; all kinds of old cavalier rioting and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with some, furnished matters of ridicule to libertines and scoffers:* some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making stories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear serious, or make conscience either of words and actions, was the way to be accounted a schismatic, a fanatic, or a sectarian; though if there was any real religion during the course of this reign, it was chiefly among those people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for Presbyterians, and every Presbyterian was a rebel. The old clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken possession of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the restraints of their order. Every week, says Mr. Baxter,† produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night, and mobbed in the streets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit.‡ Such was the general dissoluteness of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majesty's restoration!

About this time died the reverend Mr. Francis Taylor, sometime rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterward of

* Kennet's Chron. p. 493.

† Life, part 2. p. 288.

‡ Dr. Grey questions the truth of the above charge. But whoever reads Mr. Baxter's account of the matter, and of the conduct of himself and some of his brethren on the report of it, which rang through the city, will scarcely doubt the fact. But there is force and candour in what Dr. Grey adds concerning the reply of Mr. Selden to an alderman of the long-parliament on the subject of episcopacy. The alderman said, "that there were so many clamours against such and such prelates, that they would never be quiet till they had no more bishops." On this Mr. Selden informed the house, what grievous complaints there were against such and such aldermen; and therefore, by parity of reasoning, it was his opinion, he said, that they should have no more aldermen. Here was the fault transferred to the office, which is a dangerous error; for not only government, but human society itself, may be dissolved by the same argument, if the frailties or corruptions of particular men shall be revenged upon the whole body. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 267.—*Edn.*

Yalden, from whence he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, and had a considerable share in the annotations which go under their name. From Yalden Mr. Taylor removed to Canterbury, and became preacher of Christ-church in that city, where I presume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critic in the oriental languages, and one of the most considerable divines of the assembly. He published several valuable works, and among others a translation of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. Gataker, of Rotherhithe, with a prefatory epistle of Selden's, and several others, relating to Jewish antiquities. Among the letters to archbishop Usher there is one from Mr. Taylor, dated from Clapham, 1635. He corresponded also with Boetius, and most of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a son who was blind,* but ejected for nonconformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage-church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

CHAP. V.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. TO THE CONFERENCE AT THE SAVOY. 1660.

BEFORE we relate the conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian divines in order to a comprehension, it will be proper to represent the views of the court, and of the bishops, who had promised to act with temper, and to bury all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration. The point in debate was, "Whether concessions should be made, and pains taken, to gain the Presbyterians?" The king seemed to be for it; but the court-bishops, with lord Clarendon at their head, were absolutely against it: Clarendon was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and

* He lost his sight by the small-pox: but pursued his studies by the aid of others, who read to him. His brother, who was also blind, he supported, and took great pains to instruct and win over to serious religion, but not with all the success he desired: he was a man of good abilities, and noted for an eloquent preacher: and his ministry was much valued and respected. He did not long survive the treatment he met with, in being seized and carried to prison; but was cheerful in all his afflictions. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 2. p. 57, 58.—Ed.

gave himself up to the bishops, for the service they had done him in reconciling the king to his daughter's clandestine marriage with the duke of York. If his lordship had been a friend to moderate measures, the greatest part of the Presbyterians might have been gained; but he would not disoblige the bishops; the reasons of whose angry behaviour were, "1. Their high notions of the episcopal form of government, as necessary to the very essence of a Christian church. 2. The resentments that remained in their breasts against all who had engaged with the long-parliament, and had been the cause of their sufferings. 3. The Presbyterians being legally possessed of most of the benefices in church and state, it was thought necessary to dispossess them; and if there must be a schism, rather to have it out of the church than within it;" for it had been observed, that the half conformity of the Puritans before the war, had, in most cities and corporations, occasioned a faction between the incumbents and lecturers, which latter had endeavoured to render themselves popular at the expense of the hierarchy. 4. Besides, they had too much influence in the election of representatives to serve in parliament; therefore, instead of using methods to bring them into the church, says bishop Burnet,* they resolved to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out. Here was no generosity, or spirit of Catholicism, no remembrance of past services, no compassion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed resolution to disarm their opponents at all events; so that the ensuing conferences with the Presbyterians were no other than an amusement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulsion.

The king was devoted to his pleasures, and had no principles of real religion; his grand design was to lay asleep the former controversies, and to unite both Protestant and Papist under his government; with this view he submitted to the scheme of the bishops, in hopes of making it subservient to a general toleration; which nothing could render more necessary, than having great bodies of men shut out of the church, and put under severe penal laws, who must then be petitioners for a toleration which the legislature would probably grant; but it was his majesty's resolution, that whatsoever should be granted of that sort should pass

* Vol. 1. p. 259, 260, 12mo.

in so unlimited a manner, that Papists as well as other sectaries should be comprehended within it. The duke of York and all the Roman Catholics were in this scheme; they declared absolutely against a comprehension, but were very much for a general toleration, as what was necessary for the peace of the nation, and promoting the Catholic cause.

The well-meaning Presbyterians were all this while striving against the stream, and making interest with a set of men who were now laughing in their sleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered archbishop Usher's model of primitive episcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the communion, should be left indifferent.* They were content to set aside the assembly's confession, and let the articles of the church of England take place with some few amendments. About the middle of June, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Manton, and Dr. Spurstow, waited upon the king, being introduced by the earl of Manchester, to crave his majesty's interposition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful pastors. Honest Mr. Baxter told his majesty, that the interest of the late usurpers with the people arose from the encouragement they had given religion; and he hoped the king would not undo, but rather go beyond, the good which Cromwell or any other had done.† They laid a good deal of stress on their own loyalty, and carefully distinguished between their own behaviour and that of other sectaries, who had been disloyal and factious. The king replied, that "he was glad to hear of their inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to bring them together, but this must not be by bringing one party over to another, but by abating somewhat on both sides, and meeting in the midway; and that if it were not accomplished it should not be his fault; nay, he said, he was resolved to see it brought to pass."‡ Accordingly, his majesty required them to draw up such proposals as they thought meet for an agreement about church-government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a meeting with some episcopal divines in his majesty's presence, when

* Kennet's Chron. p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 182.

‡ Ibid. p. 183.

the proposals were ready. Upon this they summoned the city ministers to meet and consult at Sion-college, not excluding such of their country brethren as would attend, that it might not be said afterward they took upon themselves the concluding so weighty an affair.* After two or three weeks' consultation they agreed upon a paper to the following purpose, drawn up chiefly by Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Worth, and Mr. Calamy, which, together with archbishop Usher's reduction of episcopacy, they offered to the king, with the following address :

" May it please your most excellent majesty,

" We, your majesty's most loyal subjects cannot but acknowledge it is a very great mercy of God, that immediately after so wonderful and peaceable restoration to your throne and government (for which we bless his name) he has stirred up your royal heart, as to a zealous testimony against profaneness, so to endeavour a happy composing of the differences, and healing the sad breaches which are in the church. And we shall, according to our bounded duty, become humble suitors to the throne of grace, that the God of peace, who has put such a thing as this into your majesty's heart, will, by his heavenly wisdom and Holy Spirit, assist you herein, that you may bring your resolutions to a perfect effect and issue.—

" In humble conformity to your majesty's Christian designs, we, taking it for granted that there is a firm agreement between our brethren and us in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion, and in the substantial parts of divine worship, humbly desire,

First, " That we may be secured of those things in practice of which we seem to be agreed in principle ; as,

1. " That those of our flocks that are serious in matters of their salvation may not be reproachfully handled by words of scorn, or any abusive language, but may be encouraged in their duties of exhorting and provoking one another in their most holy faith, and of farthering one another in the ways of eternal life.

2. " That each congregation may have a learned, orthodox, and godly pastor, that the people may be publicly instructed by preaching every Lord's day, by catechising, by frequent administering the Lord's supper and baptism ; and

* Baxter, part 2. p. 282.

that effectual provision by law may be made, that such as are insufficient, negligent, or scandalous, may not officiate.

3. "That none may be admitted to the Lord's supper till they personally own their baptismal covenant by a credible profession of faith and holiness, not contradicted by a scandalous life. That to such only confirmation may be administered; and that the approbation of the pastor to whom the instructing those under his charge doth appertain, may be produced before any person receives confirmation.

4. "That an effectual course be taken for the sanctification of the Lord's day, appropriating the same to holy exercises both in public and private, without any unnecessary diversions."

"Then for matters in difference, viz. church-government, liturgy, and ceremonies, we humbly represent,

"That we do not renounce the true ancient primitive episcopacy or presidency, as it was balanced with a due commixtion of presbyters. If therefore your majesty, in your grave wisdom and moderation, shall constitute such an episcopacy, we shall humbly submit thereunto. And in order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, we desire humbly to offer some particulars which we conceive were amiss in the episcopal government as it was practised before the year 1640.

1. "The great extent of the bishop's diocese, which we apprehend too large for his personal inspection.

2. "That by reason of this disability the bishops did depute the administration, in matters of spiritual cognizance, to commissaries, chancellors, officials, whereof some are secular persons, and could not administer that power that originally belongs to the officers of the church.

3. "That the bishops did assume the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction to themselves.

4. "That some of the bishops exercised an arbitrary power, by sending forth articles of visitation, inquiring unwarrantably into several things; and swearing churchwardens to present accordingly. Also many innovations and ceremonies were imposed upon ministers and people not required by law.

"For remedy of these evils we crave leave to offer,

1. "The late most reverend primate of Ireland, his re-

duction of episcopacy into the form of synodical government.

2. " We humbly desire, that the suffragans, or chorepiscopi, may be chosen by the respective synods.

3. " That no oaths, or promises of obedience to the bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements, be made necessary to ordination, institution, or induction, ministration, communion, or immunities, of ministers, they being responsible for any transgression of the law. And that no bishops or ecclesiastical governors may exercise their government by their private will or pleasure, but only by such rules, canons, and constitutions, as shall be established by parliament.

Secondly, " Concerning liturgy.

1. " We are satisfied in our judgments concerning the lawfulness of a liturgy, or form of worship, provided it be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and suited to the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the church, neither too tedious, nor composed of too short prayers or responsals, not dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed churches, nor too rigorously imposed, nor the minister confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of his gifts for prayer and exhortation.

2. " Forasmuch as the Book of Common Prayer is in some things justly offensive, and needs amendment, we most humbly pray, that some learned, godly, and moderate divines of both persuasions, may be employed to compile such a form as is before described, as much as may be in Scripture words; or at least to revise and reform the old; together with an addition of other various forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice.

Thirdly, " Concerning ceremonies.

" We hold ourselves obliged, in every part of divine worship, to do all things decently and in order, and to edification; and are willing to be determined by authority in such things as being merely circumstantial, or common to human actions and societies, are to be ordered by the light of nature, and human prudence.

" As to divers ceremonies formerly retained in the church of England, we do, in all humanity, offer to your majesty the following considerations :

" That the worship of God is in itself pure and perfect,

and decent, without any such ceremonies. That it is then most pure and acceptable when it has least of human mixtures. That these ceremonies have been imposed and advanced by some, so as to draw near to the significancy and moral efficacy of sacraments. That they have been rejected by many of the reformed churches abroad, and have been ever the subject of contention and endless disputes in this church; and therefore being in their own nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to be changed, lest in time they should be apprehended as necessary as the substantials of worship themselves.

“May it therefore please your majesty graciously to grant, that kneeling at the Lord’s supper, and such holidays as are but of human institution, may not be imposed on such as scruple them. That the use of the surplice and cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, may be abolished. And forasmuch as erecting altars and bowing towards them, and such like (having no foundation in the law of the land), have been introduced and imposed, we humbly beseech your majesty, that such innovations may not be used or imposed for the future.”

When the Presbyterian divines came to court with these proposals, the king received them favourably, and promised to bring both parties together. His majesty expressed a satisfaction in hearing they were disposed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the essence of episcopacy, and therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The ministers expected to have met the bishops with their papers of proposals, but none of them appeared, having been better instructed in a private conference with the lord-chancellor Hyde, who told them; it was not their business to offer proposals, because they were in possession of the laws of the land; that the hierarchy and service-book, being the only legal establishment, ought to be the standard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to answer the exceptions of the ministers against it. Accordingly, instead of a conference, or paper of proposals, which the ministers expected, the bishops, having obtained a copy of the paper of the Presbyterians, drew up an answer in writing, which was communicated to their ministers, July 8.

In this answer, the bishops take notice of the ministers’

concessions in their preamble, as that they agree with them in the substantials of doctrine and worship ; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of less importance, and ought not to be stiffly insisted on to the disturbance of the peace of the church.*

To the particulars they answer,

1. Concerning church-government, "That they never heard any just reasons for a dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of this kingdom, which they believe in the main to be the true primitive episcopacy, which was more than a mere presidency of order. Nor do they find that it was balanced by an authoritative commixtion of presbyters, though it has been in all times exercised with the assistance and counsel of presbyters in subordination to bishops. They wonder that they should except against the government by one single person, which, if applied to the civil magistrate, is a most dangerous insinuation."†

As to the four particular instances of things amiss.

1. "We cannot grant the extent of any diocese is so great, but that a bishop may well perform his duty, which is not a personal inspection of every man's soul, but the pastoral charge, or taking care that the ministers, and other ecclesiastical officers within their diocese, do their duties ; and if some diocesses should be too large, the law allows suffragans.

2. "Concerning lay-chancellors, &c. we confess the bishops did depute part of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to chancellors, commissaries, officials, &c. as men better skilled in the civil and canon laws ; but as for matters of mere spiritual concernment, as excommunication, absolution, and other censures of the church, we conceive they belong properly to the bishop himself, or his surrogate, wherein, if any thing has been done amiss, we are willing it should be reformed.

3. "Whether bishops are a distinct order from presbyters, or not ; or, whether they have the sole power of ordination, is not now the question ; but we affirm, that the bishops of this realm have constantly ordained with the assistance of presbyters, and the imposition of their hands together with the bishops, and for this purpose the colleges of deans and chapters are instituted.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 300. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 242.

† Baxter, p. 243.

4. "As to archbishop Usher's model of church-government, we decline it, as not consistent with his other learned discourses on the original of episcopacy, and of metropolitans ; nor with the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical."

II. *Concerning Liturgy.*

"We esteem the liturgy of the church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be such an one as is by them desired, according to the qualifications which they mention ; the disuse of which has been the cause of the sad divisions of the church, and the restoring it may be, by God's blessing, a special means of making up the breach. Nor can the imposition of it be called rigorous, as long as clergymen have the liberty of using their gifts before and after sermon. Nevertheless we are not against revising the liturgy by such discreet persons as his majesty shall think fit to employ therein.

III. *Of Ceremonies.*

"Lawful authority has already determined the ceremonies in question to be decent and orderly, and for edification, and consequently to be agreeable to the general rules of the word. We allow the worship of God is in itself perfect in essentials, but still the church is at liberty to improve it with circumstantials for decency and order. Ceremonies were never esteemed to be sacraments, nor imposed as such ; they are retained by most Protestant churches ; and that they have been the subject of contention is owing to men's weakness, and their unwillingness to submit their private opinions to the public judgment of the church. We acknowledge, that these things are in their nature mutable, but we can by no means think it expedient to remove them. However, as we are no way against such a tender and religious compassion in things of this nature, as his majesty's piety and wisdom shall think fit to extend : so we cannot think that the satisfaction of some private persons is to be laid in the balance against the public peace and uniformity of the church.

"As for kneeling at the Lord's supper, it is a gesture of the greatest reverence and devotion, and so most agreeably to that holy service.

"Holy-days of human institution having been observed by the people of God in the Old Testament, and by our blessed Saviour himself in the gospel, and by all the churches of Christ in the primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the memorials of the chief mysteries of the Christian religion : and such holy-days also being fit times for the honest recreation of the meaner sort of people ; for these reasons we humbly desire they may be continued in the church.

"As for the three other ceremonies, the surplice, the cross after baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, though we see not any sufficient reason why they should be utterly abolished, nevertheless, how far forth, in regard of tender consciences, a liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his majesty is best able to judge.

They conclude thus : "We are so far from believing that his majesty's condescending to the ministers' demands will take away not only our differences, but the roots and causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the seminary of new differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established, who are much the greatest part of his majesty's subjects ; and by encouraging unquiet spirits, when these things shall be granted, to make farther demands ; there being no assurance by them given, what will content all dissenters, than which nothing is more necessary for settling a firm peace in the church."

About a week after, the Presbyterian divines sent the bishops a warm remonstrance, and defence of their proposals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. Baxter, to the following purpose :

Concerning the preamble.

"We are not insensible of the danger of the church, through the doctrinal errors of those with whom we differ about points of government and worship ; but we choose to say nothing of the party that we are agreed with in doctrinals, because we both subscribe the same Holy Scriptures, articles of religion, and books of homilies ; and the contradictions to their own confessions, which too many are guilty of, we did not think just to charge upon the whole."*

* Kennet's Chron. p. 205. Baxter, part 2. p. 248.

Concerning Church-government.

" Had you read Gerson, Bucer, Parker, Baynes, Salmasius, Blondel, &c. you would have seen just reason given for our dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as stated in England."

Instances of things amiss.

" You would easily grant that diocesses are too great, if you had ever conscionably tried the task which Dr. Hammond describeth as the bishop's work ; or had ever believed Ignatius, and other ancient descriptions of a bishop's church. You cannot be ignorant, that our bishops have the sole government of pastors and people ; that the whole power of the keys is in their hands, and that their presbyters are but ciphers."

Concerning Ceremonies.

" These divines argue for leaving them indifferent for the peace of the church, as being not essential to the perfection of Christian worship, especially when so many looked upon them as sinful.

They conclude thus : " We perceive your counsels against peace are not likely to be frustrated. Your desires concerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are like to be gratified with our silence and ejection ; and yet we will believe, that ' Blessed are the peace-makers ;' and though we are prevented by you in our pursuits of peace, and are never like thus publicly to seek it more, yet are we resolved, as much as possible, to live peaceably with all men."

The eyes of the Presbyterians were now opened, and they began to discern their weakness in expecting an agreement with the bishops, who appeared to be exasperated, and determined to tie them down to the old establishment. The former severities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution against some who did not make use of the old liturgy. Many were suspended and turned out of their livings on this account ; upon which the leading Presbyterians applied to the king, and humbly requested,

1. "That they might with all convenient speed, see his majesty's conclusions upon the proposals of mutual condescensions, before they pass into resolves.

2. "That his majesty would publicly declare his pleasure for the suspension of all proceedings upon the act of uniformity, against nonconformists to the liturgy and ceremonies, till they saw the issue of their hoped-for agreement.

3. "That until the said settlement, there may be no oath of canonical obedience, nor subscription to the liturgy and ceremonies required, nor renunciation of their ordination by mere presbyters, imposed as necessary to institution, induction, or confirmation.

4. "That his majesty would cause the broad seal to be revoked, where persons had been put into the possession of the livings of others not void by sequestration, but by the death of the former incumbents.

5. "That a remedy may be provided against the return of scandalous ministers, into the places from whence they had been ejected."*

His majesty gave them a civil audience, and told them he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a declaration, which they should have the liberty of perusing before it was made public. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. Baxter, and other Presbyterian divines, September 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they disliked.† These divines petitioned for some farther amendments and alterations; upon which the king appointed a day to hear what could be said on both sides, and came to the chancellor's house, October 22, attended by the dukes of Albemarle and Ormond, the earls of Manchester, Anglesea, and lord Hollis.

On the part of the bishops were,

Dr. Sheldon,	bishop of London
Dr. Morley,	Worcester
Dr. Hinchman,	Salisbury
Dr. Cosins,	Durham
Dr. Gauden,	Exeter
Dr. Hackett,	Litchfield and Coventry
Dr. Barwick,	dean of St. Paul's;—Dr. Gunning, &c.

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 241.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 246. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 275, 276.

On the side of the Presbyterians were,

Dr. Reynolds	Dr. Spurstow	Dr. Manton	Dr. Wallis.
Mr. Calamy	Mr. Ashe	Mr. Baxter	

As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to allege their exceptions, and the king to determine. The chief debates were on the high power of the bishops, and the necessity of reordination. Bishop Morley and Dr. Gunning spoke most on one side; and Mr. Calamy and Baxter on the other.* Upon hearing the whole, his majesty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper should stand in the declaration; and appointed bishop Morley and Henchman, Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy, to express it in proper words; and if they disagreed, the earl of Anglesea and lord Hollis to decide.

At length the declaration, with such amendments as the king would admit, was published under the following title:

“His majesty’s declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs. Given at our court at Whitehall, October 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.”

The declaration being long,† and to be met with in most of our historians, I shall give the reader only an abstract of it.

“CHARLES REX.

“In our letter from Breda we promised in due time to propose something to the world for the propagation of the Protestant religion; and we think ourself more competent to propose, and with God’s assistance determine many things now in difference, from the experience we have had in most of the reformed churches abroad, where we have had frequent conferences with the most learned men, who have unanimously lamented the distempers and too notorious schisms in matters of religion in England.

“When we were in Holland we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence of the Presbyterian

* Baxter’s Life, part 2. p. 278.

† This declaration was drawn up by lord-chancellor Hyde: but many of the evasive clauses were suggested by some of the king’s more secret advisers. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 93.—Ed.

opinion, and to our great satisfaction we found them full of affection to us, no enemies to episcopacy or liturgy (as they have been reported to be), but modestly desiring such alterations as, without shattering foundations, might give ease to the tenderness of some men's consciences. For the doing of this we intended to have called a synod of divines, but observing the over-passionate and turbulent way of proceeding of some persons, and the impatience of others for a speedy determination of these matters, we have been prevailed with to invert the method we proposed, and to give some determination ourself to the matters in difference, till such a synod may be called as may, without passion or prejudice, give us such farther assistance towards a perfect union of affections, as well as submission to authority, as is necessary.

"We must, for the honour of all with whom we have conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church, and of affection and duty to us, the same; they all approve episcopacy and a liturgy, and disapprove of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenues of the church."*

His majesty then declares his esteem and affection for the church of England, and that his esteem of it is not lessened by his condescending to dispense with some particular ceremonies, and then proceeds to his concessions.

1. "We declare our purpose and resolution is, and shall be, to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the public and private exercises of religion, to take care of the due observation of the Lord's day; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the church. We shall take care to prefer none to the episcopal office and charge but men of learning, virtue, and piety; and we shall provide the best we can, that the bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do often preach in some church or other of their diocess.

2. "Because some diocesses may be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragans as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. "No bishops shall ordain or exercise any part of juris-

* *Comp. Hist.* vol. 3. p. 246. *Baxter's Life*, part. 2. p. 259. *Kennet's Chron.* p. 289.

diction which appertains to the censures of the church, without advice and assistance of the presbyters. No chancellors, commissaries, or officials, shall excommunicate, absolve, or exercise, any act of spiritual jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned with reference to their pastoral charge. Nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry; three to be nominated by the bishop, and three by the suffrage of the presbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. "We will take care, that the preferment of deans and chapters shall be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocess, and that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned and pious presbyters of the same diocess, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocess present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, at all church-censures, and other important acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction wherein any of the ministry are concerned. Provided that at all such meetings, the number of ministers so elected, and those of the chapter present, be equal; and to make the numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number shall withdraw to make way for the more ancient. Nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of presbyters annually chosen as before. And our will is, that ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the bishop and his aforesaid presbytery at the four set times appointed by the church for that purpose.

5. "Confirmation shall be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lord's supper, till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according to the rubric before the catechism; and all diligence shall be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's supper till they have openly declared their repentance, and resolutions of amendment; provided there be place for appeals to superior powers. Every rural dean (to be nominated by the bishop as heretofore) with three or four minis-

tars of that deanery chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once a month to receive complaints from the ministers or churchwardens of parishes, and to compose such differences as shall be referred to them for arbitration, and to reform such things as are amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, and what they cannot reform are to be presented to the bishop. Moreover, the rural dean and his assistants are to take care of the catechising children and youth, and that they can give a good account of their faith before they are brought to the bishop to be confirmed.

6. "No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or impose any thing upon his clergy or people, but according to the law of the land.

7. "We will appoint an equal number of divines of both persuasions to review the liturgy of the church of England, and to make such alterations as shall be thought necessary; and some additional forms in the Scripture phrase, as near as may be, suited to the nature of the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or the other at his discretion. In the mean time, we desire that the ministers in their several churches will not wholly lay aside the use of the common prayer, but will read those parts of it against which they have no exception; yet our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it till it be reviewed and effectually reformed.

8. Lastly, "Concerning ceremonies, if any are practised contrary to law, the same shall cease. Every national church has a power to appoint ceremonies for its members, which, though before they were indifferent, yet cease to be so when established by law. We are therefore content to indulge tender consciences, so far as to dispense with their using such ceremonies as are an offence to them, but not to abolish them. We declare therefore, that none shall be compelled to receive the sacrament kneeling, nor to use the cross in baptism, nor to bow at the name of Jesus, nor to use the surplice, except in the royal chapel, and in cathedral and collegiate churches. Nor shall subscription, nor the oath of canonical obedience, be required at present, in order to ordination, institution, or induction; but only the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; nor shall any lose their academical degrees, or forfeit a presentation, or be deprived

of a benefice, for not declaring his assent to all the thirty-nine articles, provided he read and declare his assent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the sacraments. And we do again renew our declaration from Breda, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

His majesty concludes, "with conjuring all his loving subjects, to acquiesce and submit to this declaration, concerning the differences that have so much disquieted the nation at home, and given offence to the Protestant churches abroad."

Though this declaration did not satisfy all the ministers, yet the greatest numbers were content; but because it proceeded upon the plan of diocesan episcopacy which they had covenanted against, others were extremely uneasy; some ventured upon a second address to the king, in which they renew their requests for archbishop Usher's scheme of primitive episcopacy, as most agreeable to Scripture; most conducive to good discipline, and as that which would save the nation from the violation of a solemn league and covenant, which, whether it were lawfully imposed or no; they conceive now to be binding.

Concerning the preamble of his majesty's declaration they tender these requests:

1. "That as they are persuaded it is not in his majesty's thoughts to intimate that they are guilty of the offences therein mentioned, they hope it will be a motive to hasten the union.

2. "Though they detest sacrilege, yet they will not determine, whether in some cases of superfluities of revenues, and the necessity of the church, there may not be an alienation, which is no sacrilege.

3. "His majesty having acknowledged their moderation, they still hope they may be received into the settlement, and continue their stations in the church.

4. "Since his majesty has declared, that the essence of episcopacy may be preserved, though the extent of the jurisdiction be altered, they hope his majesty will consent to such an alteration as may satisfy their consciences."

They then renew their requests for promoting of piety; of a religious and diligent ministry; of the requisites of

church-communion; and for the observation of the sabbath. They complain, that parish-discipline is not sufficiently granted in his majesty's declaration, that inferior synods are passed by, and that the bishop is not *episcopus præses*, but *episcopus princeps*, endued with sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. They therefore pray again, that archbishop Usher's form of church-government may be established, at least in these three points :*

1. "That the pastors of parishes may be allowed to preach, catechise, and deny the communion of the church to the impenitent, scandalous, or such as do not make a credible profession of faith and obedience to the commands of Christ.

2. "That the pastors of each rural deanery may meet once a month, to receive presentments and appeals, to admonish offenders, and after due patience to proceed to excommunication.

3. "That a diocesan synod of the delegates of rural synods may be called as often as need requires; that the bishop may not ordain or exercise spiritual censures without the consent of the majority; and that neither chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, nor officials, may pass censures purely spiritual; but for the exercise of civil government coercively by mulcts, or corporal penalties, by power derived from your majesty, as supreme over all persons and things ecclesiastical, we presume not at all to interpose."

"As to the Liturgy.

"They rejoice that his majesty has declared, that none should suffer for not using the common prayer and ceremonies; but then it grieves us (say they) to hear that it is given in charge to the judges at the assizes, to indict men upon the act of uniformity for not using the common prayer. That it is not only some obsolete words and phrases that are offensive, but that other things need amendment; therefore we pray, that none may be punished for not using the book, till it be reformed by the consent of the divines of both parties."

"Concerning Ceremonies.

"They thank his majesty for his gracious concessions,

* Hist. of the Noncon. p. 14. Baxter, part 2. p. 268.

but pray him to leave out of his declaration these words, 'that we do not believe the practice of the particular ceremonies excepted against unlawful,' because we are not all of that opinion; but we desire, that there may be no law nor canon for or against them (being allowed by our opponents as indifferent), as there is no canon against any particular gesture in singing psalms, and yet there is an uninterrupted unity."

" For particular Ceremonies.

1. " We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to receive the Lord's supper either kneeling, standing, or sitting. 2. That the observation of holy-days of human institution may be left indifferent. 3. We thank your majesty for liberty as to the cross in baptism, the surplice, and bowing at the name of Jesus; but we pray, that this liberty may extend to colleges and cathedrals for the benefit of youths as well as elder persons, and that the canons which impose these ceremonies may be repealed.

" We thank your majesty for your gracious concession of the forbearance of subscription; though we do not dissent from the doctrinal articles of the church of England; nor do we scruple the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, nor would we have the door left open for Papists and heretics to come in.

" But we take the liberty to represent to your majesty, that, notwithstanding your gracious concessions, our ministers cannot procure institution without renouncing their ordination by presbyters, or being reordained, nor without subscription and the oaths of canonical obedience. And we are apprehensive that your majesty's indulgence does not extend to the abatement of reordination, or subscription, or the oath of canonical obedience. We therefore earnestly crave, that your majesty will declare your pleasure, 1. That ordination, and institution, and induction, may be conferred without the said subscription and oath. 2. That none may be urged to be reordained, or denied institution for want of ordination by prelates that have been ordained by presbyters. 3. That none may forfeit their presentation or benefice for not reading those articles of the thirty-nine that relate to government and ceremonies."

However, if the king's declaration, without any amend-

ments, had passed into a law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation that followed; but neither the court nor ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old establishment. A reverend prelate of the church of England confesses, "that this declaration has in it a spirit of true wisdom and charity above any one public confession that was ever made in matters of religion. It shews the admirable temper and prudence of the king and his council in that tender juncture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation of the suffering bishops, in thinking such concessions just and reasonable for peace and unity; and it shews a disposition in the other party to have accepted the terms of union consistent with our episcopacy and liturgy. It condemns the unhappy ferment that soon after followed for want of this temper; and it may stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed, to restore the discipline and heal the breaches of the church." Another conformist writer adds, "If ever a divine sentence was in the mouth of any king, and his mouth erred not in judgment; I verily believe it was thus with our present majesty when he composed that admirable declaration, which next to the Holy Scripture I adore, and think that the united judgment of the whole nation cannot frame a better or a more unexceptionable expedient, for a firm and lasting concord of these distracted churches."

The Presbyterians about London were so far pleased, that they drew up the following address of thanks, in the name of the city-ministers, and presented it to the king November 16, by the hands of the reverend Mr. Samuel Clarke.

"Most dread Sovereign!

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, ministers of the gospel in your city of London, having perused your majesty's late declaration, and finding it so full of indulgence and gracious condescension, we cannot but judge ourselves highly obliged first to render our unfeigned thanks to God, and next our most humble and hearty acknowledgments to your majesty, that we may testify to your royal self, and all the world, our just sentiments of your majesty's great goodness and clemency therein expressed."*

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 279. Kennet's Chron. p. 311.

The address then recites the several condescensions of his majesty in the declaration, and concludes thus, "We crave leave to profess, that though all things in this frame of government be not exactly suited to our judgments, yet your majesty's moderation has so great an influence on us, that we shall to our utmost endeavour the healing of the breaches, and promoting the peace and union of the church.—We would beg of your majesty, with all humility upon our knees, that reordination, and the surplice in colleges, might not be imposed; and we hope God will incline your majesty's heart to gratify us in these our desires also."

Signed by

Samuel Clark	Jo. Rawlinson	Thomas Lye
William Cooper	Jo. Sheffield	John Jackson
Thomas Case	Thomas Gouge	John Meriton
Jo. Gibbon	Gab. Sanger	William Bates
William Whitaker	El. Pledger	With many others.
Thomas Jacomb	Matth. Pool	

The king having received the address, returned this answer,* "Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself."†

Upon the terms of this declaration Dr. Reynolds ac-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 315.

† December 11, 1729.—Waiting on Arthur Onslow, esq. speaker of the honourable house of commons, he was pleased to suffer me to peruse and afterward to transcribe a marginal note, which he had written with his own hand to pages 152, 153, and 154, of the first volume of my Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, where the subject of which I was treating, was king Charles's celebrated declaration for ecclesiastical affairs, which bore date October 25, 1660.

I had said, that the concessions there made were so highly pleasing, that an address of thanks was drawn up and signed by many of the dissenting members in and about London, &c.

The marginal note before mentioned, was in the words following:

"Both houses of parliament did also severally present to the king an address of thanks for this declaration: and in the house of commons, November 6, 1660, a committee was appointed to bring in a bill to make the declaration effectual, and the person first named of the committee was serjeant Hales, who was therefore very probably the first mover of this bill. And as he was the next day (I think it was so soon) made chief lord baron, it is not unlikely that he was desirous to leave the house of commons with this mark of his moderation, as to the religious differences of that time, and what he thought would be the proper means to heal them. But his endeavours did not succeed; for on the 28th of November following, the bill being read the first time, and a question put that the bill be read a second time, it passed in the negative: the yeas one hundred and fifty-seven, the noes one hundred and eighty-three. The tellers for the yeas were sir Anthony Joby and sir George Booth; for the noes, sir Solomon Swale and Mr. Palmer."

Note. "Sir Solomon Swale was afterward discharged being a member of the house of commons, for being a Popish recusant convict."—Dr. Calamy's History of his own Life.

I here insert this for the use of posterity.

cepted of the bishoprick of Norwich; Mr. Baxter was offered the bishoprick of Hereford, but refused upon other reasons; and Mr. Calamy declined the bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, till the king's declaration should be passed into a law. Dr. Manton, having been presented to the living of Covent-garden by the earl of Bedford, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received episcopal institution from Dr. Sheldon bishop of London, January 10, 1660—61. Having first subscribed the doctrinal articles of the church of England only, and taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honest. The doctor was also content that the Common Prayer should be read in his church. Dr. Bates was offered the deanery of Litchfield; Dr. Manton the deanery of Rochester; and Mr. Bowles that of York; but finding how things were going at court, after some time, refused.

The lords and commons, upon reading the king's declaration, agreed to wait upon his majesty in a body, and return him thanks; and the commons ordered a bill into their house to pass it into a law; but when the bill had been read the first time, the question being put for a second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the secretaries of state opposing it, which was a sufficient indication, says Dr. Bates, of the king and court's aversion to it.* Sir Matthew Hale, who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the house of commons, and made lord-chief-baron of the exchequer, that he might not oppose the resolutions of the ministry. Strange! that a house of commons, which on the 9th of November had given the king thanks for his declaration by their speaker *nem. contradicente*, should on the 28th of the same month reject it before a second reading. This blasted all the expectations of the Presbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not design the declaration should be carried into execution, but only serve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church should be in circumstances to bid them defiance. While the diocesan doctors were at Breda (says Mr. Baxter†) they did not dream that their way to the highest grandeur was so fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of

* Kennet's Chron. p. 358.

† Life, p. 287.

the declaration of Breda; when they came in they proceeded by slow degress, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpose they proposed the declaration, which being but a temporary provision must give place to laws, but when they found the parliament and populace ripe for any thing they should propose, they dropped the declaration, and all farther thoughts of accommodation.

The court and bishops were now at ease, and went on briskly with restoring all things to the old standard; the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance were revived; men of the highest principles, and most inveterate resentments, were preferred to bishopricks, by which they were more than compensated for their sufferings, by the large sums of money they raised on the renewal of leases,* which after so long an interval were almost all expired; but what a sad use they made of their riches, I choose rather to relate in the words of bishop Burnet than my own. "What the bishops did with their great fines was a pattern to all their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the church; the men of service were loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With this accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hospitality; and with this overset of wealth and pomp that came upon men in the decline of their age, they who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church."†

* The terms on which these leases were renewed, were high and oppressive; and the bishops incurred the severe censure of the Presbyterian ministers, and raised against themselves the clamour of the subordinate and dependant clergy. The sums raised by renewing the leases amounted to a million and half. In some cases they produced 40 or 50,000*l.* which were applied to the enriching the bishops' families. See *History of the Court and Reign of King Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 350—354; and *Burnet's History of his Own Times*, vol. 1. p. 271, 12mo.—*Rn.*

† Dr. Grey endeavours to shew, that bishop Burnet's representation, quoted above, was founded in a mistake; and, with this view, he states the benefactions and charities of some of the bishops, deans, and chapters. According to his authorities, ~~bishops~~ the expenditures of bishop Duppa, which we have mentioned before, Dr. James, archbishop of Canterbury, gave to various purposes and public works, 48,000*l.* and abated in fines 16,000*l.* Dr. Sheldon, while bishop of London, expended 48,000*l.* and abated to his tenants 17,000*l.* Dr. Frewen, archbishop of York, disbursed in public payments, besides abatements to tenants, 15,000*l.* Dr. Cosins bishop of Durham's expenditures in building and repairing public edifices and in charities amounted to 44,000*l.* Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester, though his fines were small, gave in royal presents, benevolences, and subsidies, and redeeming captives, 23,000*l.* The liberalities of various deans and chapters made the sum of 191,300*l.* These expenditures bespeak munificence and generosity; and they appear to take off much of the edge of bishop Burnet's censure. He allows, that "some few exceptions are to be made: but so few (he adds), that if a new set of men had not ap-

From this time, says bishop Kennet, the Presbyterians began to prepare for the cry of persecution, and not without reason, for March 23, Mr. Zach. Crofton, minister of Aldgate, was sent to the Tower for writing in favour of the covenant; where he lay a considerable time at great expense, and was at last turned out of his parish without any consideration, though he had a wife and seven children, and had been very zealous for the king's restoration.* Mr. Andrew Parsons, rector of Wem in Shropshire, a noted loyalist, was fetched from his house in the month of December by six soldiers, for seditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies; for which he was fined 200*l.* and to continue in prison till it was paid.

Spies were sent into all the congregations of Presbyterians throughout England, to observe and report their behaviour to the bishops; and if a minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expressed his concern for the ark of God, if he preached against perfidiousness, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the king and government. Many eminent and loyal Presbyterians were sent to prison upon such informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. John Howe, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with soldiers, and their friends not suffered to attend them. Many were sequestered from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical courts, for not using the surplice and other ceremonies, while the discipline of the church was under a kind of suspension. So eager were the spiritual courts to renew the exercise of the sword; and so fiercely was it brandished against the falling Presbyterians!

The convention-parliament passed sundry acts with relation to the late times, of which these following deserve to be remembered: An act for the confirming and restoring of ministers, which enacts, among other things, "that every sequestered minister, who has not justified the late king's murder, or declared against infant baptism, shall be re-

peared of another stamp, the church had quite lost her esteem over the nation." This reader will also reflect, that the proportion not of the number of dignitaries only, who made a display of charity, or liberality; but of the sums they expended to the accession of wealth, is to be taken into the account. The above sums fall more than a million short of the amount of the fines that were raised: to these must be added the annual incomes of the ecclesiastical estates to which they were preferred. *Grey's Examination*, vol. 3. p. 269—274. *Barnet's History*, vol. p. 271.—*Ed.*

* Kennet's Chron. p. 397. Conf. Plea, p. 34.

stored to his living before the 25th of December next ensuing, and the present incumbent shall peaceably quit it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears of fifths not paid." By this act some hundreds of nonconformist ministers were dispossessed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. Here was no distinction between good or bad; but if the parson had been episcopally ordained, and in possession, he must be restored, though he had been ejected upon the strongest evidence of immorality or scandal.

The act for confirmation of marriages was very expedient for the peace of the kingdom, and the order and harmony of families. It enacts, "that all marriages since May 1, 1642, solemnized before a justice of peace, or reputed justice; and all marriages since the said time, had or solemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or reputed act or ordinance of one or both houses of parliament, shall be adjudged and esteemed to be of the same force and effect, as if they had been solemnized according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England."

An act for the attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of his late sacred majesty king Charles I. and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January.* This was the subject of many conferences between the two houses, in one of which chancellor Hyde declared, that the king having sent him in embassy to the king of Spain, charged him to tell that monarch expressly, "that the horrible murder of his father ought not to be deemed as the act of the parliament, or people of England, but of a small crew of wretches and miscreants who had usurped the sovereign power, and rendered themselves masters of the kingdom;"† for which the commons sent a deputation with

* The service for this day, it has been remarked, was framed on the *jure divino* plan, consequently on principles inconsistent with those of the Revolution. It was drawn up by archbishop Sancroft, whose influence procured it to be adopted and published by the king's authority, though another of a more moderate strain was at first preferred to it. When Sancroft himself was laid aside for adopting or adhering to principles suitable to his style, what had we to do any longer with Sancroft's office? Letters and Essays in Favour of Public Liberty, vol. 1. p. 32.—Ed.

† This plea, it has been observed by a late writer, would have been precluded, had the parliament of 1641 proceeded against the king by way of attainder, about the time that Strafford and Laud were impeached. For then they were constitutionally invested with the legislative and judicial powers of a national representative: and they had sufficient overt-acts before them to convict him of the blackest treason against the majesty of the people of England. Memoirs of Hollis, vol. 2. p. 591.—Ed.

thanks to the king. After the preamble, the act goes on to attain the king's judges, dead or alive, except colonel Ingoldsby* and Thompson, who for their late good services were pardoned, but in their room were included colonel Lambert, sir Harry Vane, and Hugh Peters, who were not of the judges. On the 30th of January this year, the bodies of O. Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till sunset of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gallows.† Colonel Lambert was sent to the isle of Jersey, where he continued shut up a patient prisoner almost thirty years; nineteen made their escape beyond sea; seven were made objects of the king's clemency; nineteen others, who surrendered on the king's proclamation of June 6, had their lives saved after trial; but underwent other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estates; so that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new sheriffs were entered upon their office, viz. Col. Harrison, Mr. Carew, Cook, Hugh Peters, Mr. Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel.‡

Bishop Burnet says,§ "The trials and executions of the first that suffered, were attended by vast crowds of people. All men seemed pleased with the sight; but the firmness and show of piety of the sufferers, who went out of the world with a sort of triumph in the cause for which they suffered, turned the minds of the populace, insomuch that the king was advised to proceed no farther." The prisoners were rudely treated in court; the spectators with their noise and clamour endeavouring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded "Not guilty to the treason," because as they said they acted by authority of parliament; not considering, that the house

* Dr. Grey observes, on the authority of lord Clarendon, that the case of colonel Ingoldsby was singular. He was drawn into the army about the time when he came first of age by Cromwell, to whom he was nearly allied. Though appointed to it, he never sat with the judges of the king: and his signature to the warrant for the king's death was obtained by violence; Cromwell seized his hand, put the pen between his fingers, and with his own hand wrote Richard Ingoldsby, he making all the resistance he could. Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 763.

† This was done, says Dr. Grey, upon a 30th of January; a circumstance which Mr. Neal might probably think below his notice.—Ed.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 367.

§ Vol. 1. p. 234.

of commons is no court of judicature; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the king was brought to his trial. Those who guarded the scaffold, pleaded that they acted by command of their superior officers, who would have cashiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cause between the king and parliament, but were condemned upon the statute of the 25th Edward III. for compassing and imagining the king's death.

The behaviour of the regicides at their execution was bold and resolute; colonel Harrison declared at the gibbet, that he was fully persuaded that what he had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time. He went through all the indignities and severities of his sufferings, with a calmness or rather cheerfulness that astonished the spectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive; for after his body was opened, he raised himself up, and gave the executioner a box on the ear.* When Mr. solicitor Cook and Hugh Peters went into the sledge, the head of major-general Harrison was put upon it, with the face bare towards them; but notwithstanding this, Mr. Cook went out of the world with surprising resolution, blessing God that he had a clear conscience. Hugh Peters was more timid; but after he had seen the execution and quartering of Mr. Cook, he resumed his courage at length (which some said was artificial), and said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my strengthening and encouragement.† Mr. Scot was not allowed to speak to the people, but said in his prayer, "that he had been engaged in a cause not to be repented of; I say, in a cause not to be repented of." Carew appeared very cheerful as he went to the gibbet, but said little of the cause for which he suffered. Clements also said nothing. Colonel Jones justified the king and court in their proceedings; but added,

* State Trials, p. 404.

† "It appears from this instance, and many others (observes Mr. Granger), that the presumption of an enthusiast is much greater than that of a saint. The one is always humble, and works out his own salvation with fear and trembling; the other is arrogant and assuming, and seems to demand it as his right." *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 339.—*Ed.*

that they did not satisfy him in so great and deep a point. Colonel Scroop was drawn in the same sledge, whose grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, raised great compassion in some of the spectators, though the insults and rudeness of others was cruel and barbarous: he said he was born and bred a gentleman; and appealed to those who had known him for his behaviour; he forgave the instruments of his sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cause of Christ. Colonel Axtel and Hacker suffered last; the former behaved with great resolution, and holding the Bible in his hand said, "The very cause in which I was engaged is contained in this book of God; and having been fully convinced in my conscience of the justness of the war, I freely engaged in the parliament's service, which, as I do believe was the cause of the Lord, I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it." Hacker read a paper to the same purpose; and after having expressed his charity towards his judges, jury, and witnesses, he said, "I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the sentence reversed.

Few, if any of these criminals, were friends of the protector Cromwell, but gave him all possible disturbance in favour of a commonwealth. Mr. H. Cromwell, in one of his letters from Ireland, 1657—8, says, "It is a sad case, when men, knowing the difficulties we labour under, seek occasions to quarrel and unsettle every thing again; I hear Harrison, Carew, and Okey, have done new feats. I hope God will infatuate them in their endeavours to disturb the peace of the nation; their folly shews them to be no better than abusers of religion, and such whose hypocrisy the Lord will avenge in due time."

The regicides certainly confounded the cause of the parliament, or the necessity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to justice, with the king's execution; whereas they fall under a very distinct consideration; the former might be necessary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to support it;* for admitting, with them, that the

* A distinguished writer, who now ranks a peer, delivers a different opinion from our author. "If a king deserves (says he) to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death: if he reduces his subjects to that extremity, the blood spilled in the quarrel lies on him:—the executing him afterward is a mere formality." *Walpole's*

king is accountable to his parliament; the house of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be so, after it was under restraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any measure of law to try and condemn their sovereign: though the Scripture says, "He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" yet this is not a rule of duty for private persons, when there is a government subsisting. If the king had fallen in battle it had been a different case; but how criminal soever his majesty might be in their apprehensions, they had no warrant to sit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or sentence to put him to death.

There was another act passed this sessions, for a perpetual anniversary-thanksgiving on the 29th of May, for his majesty's happy restoration; upon which occasion the bishops were commanded to draw up a suitable form of prayer; and Mr. Robinson, in the preface to his *Review of the Case of Liturgies*, says, that in their first form, which is since altered, there are these unwarrantable expressions, which I mention only to shew the spirit of the times.—"We beseech thee to give us grace, to remember, and provide for our latter end, by a careful and studious imitation of this thy blessed saint and martyr, and all other thy saints and martyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made worthy to receive the benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with thy church catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in sight with and danger from the flesh."*—

The books of the great Milton, and Mr. John Goodwin, published in defence of the sentence of death passed upon

Royal and Noble Authors, vol. 2. p. 69, as quoted by Dr. Harris, *Life of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 262. A sentiment of this last writer, which carries truth and force in it, may be properly brought forward in this connexion. "The depriving of the people of their rights and liberties, or the arguing for the expediency and justice of so doing, is a crime of a higher nature, than the murdering, or magnifying the murder, of the wisest and best prince under heaven. The loss of a good prince is greatly to be lamented; but it is a loss which may be repaired: whereas the loss of a people's liberties is seldom or ever to be recovered: consequently the foe to the latter is much more detestable than the foe to the former." *Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters*, p. 49, 50.—Ed.

* Dr. Grey asks, "What is there blamable in all this? Here is no praying to saints; and nothing but what was thought warrantable by the fathers long before Popery had a being.—Ed.

his late majesty, were called in by proclamation. And upon the 27th of August, Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salmasium*; and his answer to a book entitled, *The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*; were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. John Goodwin's book, entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*; but the authors absconded till the storm was over. It was a surprise to all, that they escaped prosecution. None but Goodwin and Peters had magnified the king's execution in their sermons; but Goodwin's being a strenuous Arminian procured him friends.* Milton had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, and so great purity and elegance of style, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the act of indemnity;† but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of *Paradise Lost*.

The tide of joy which overflowed the nation at the king's restoration, brought with it the return of Popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions: great numbers of that religion came over with his majesty, and crowded about the court, magnifying their sufferings for the late king. A list of the lords, gentlemen, and other officers, who were killed in his service, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that several noblemen, ten knights and baronets, fourteen colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, sixty-six captains, eighteen lieutenants and cornets, and thirty-eight gentlemen, lost their lives in the civil war, besides great numbers who were wounded, and whose estates were sequestered. The queen-mother came from France, and resided at Somerset-house with her Catholic attendants both religious and secular. Several Romish priests who had been confined in Newgate, Lancaster, and other jails, were by order of council set at liberty. Many Popish priests were sent over from Douay into England, as missionaries for propagating that religion;

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 236, 237, 12mo. edit.

† "And so indeed it was (says Dr. Grey), he being the most pestilent writer that appeared at that time in defence of the regicides, Peyton and John Goodwin excepted." Milton's safety, it is said, was owing to the powerful intercession and interest of secretary Morrice, sir Thomas Clarges, and Andrew Marvel: but principally to the influence and gratitude of sir William Davenant, whose release Milton had procured when he was taken prisoner in 1650. Nor was Charles II. says Toland, such an enemy to the muses as to require his destruction. *British Biography*, vol. 5, p. 313, 314; and Dr. Grey's *Examination*, vol. 3. p. 298.—Ed.

and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws; they were busy about the court and city in dispersing Popish books of devotion; and the king gave open countenance and protection to such as had been serviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or soon followed him, which, bishop Kennet says, his majesty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more Roman Catholics appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the interregnum.

In Ireland the Papists took possession of their estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and massacre, and turned out the purchasers; which occasioned such commotions in that kingdom, that the king was obliged to issue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of the ensuing parliament. The body of their clergy, by an instrument bearing date January 1, 1660, O. S. signed, and sealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a person of their own communion, to congratulate his majesty's restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648, whom the king received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accomplishment of their requests in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the king's arrival at Whitehall.

The only persons who, under pretence of religion, attempted any thing against the government, were a small number of enthusiasts, who said they were for king Jesus: their leader was Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, who, in his little conventicle in Coleman-street, warmed his admirers with passionate expectations of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of king Jesus upon earth, and that the saints were to take the kingdom themselves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-house towards St. Paul's church-yard, on Sunday January 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a resolution to subvert the present government, or die in the attempt. They published a declaration of the design of their rising, and placed sentinels at proper places. The lord-mayor sent the trained-bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening returned to Cane-wood, between Highgate and Hampstead. On Wed-

nesday morning they returned and dispersed a party of the king's soldiers in Threadneedle-street. In Wood-street they repelled the trained-bands, and some of the horse-guards; but Venner himself was knocked down, and some of his company slain; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took possession of a house, which they threatened to defend with a desperate resolution, but nobody appearing to countenance their frenzy, they surrendered after they had lost about half their number; Venner and one of his officers were hanged before their meeting-house door in Coleman-street, January 19, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city.*

This mad insurrection gave the court a handle for breaking though the late declaration of indulgence, within three months after it was published; for January 2, there was an order of council against the meetings of sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was published, whereby his majesty forbids the Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth-monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church or chapel, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting.† All meetings in other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majesty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions. Upon

* It plainly appeared, on the examination of these insurgents, that they had entered into no plot with any other conspirators. The whole transaction was the unquestionable effect of the religious frenzy of a few individuals. Yet it was the origin of a national burden and evil felt to this day. At the council, on the morning after the insurrection was quelled, the duke of York availed himself of the opportunity to push his arbitrary measures. On the pretext, that so extravagant an attempt could not have arisen from the rashness of one man, but was the result of a plot formed by all the sectaries and fanatics to overthrow the present government, he moved, "to suspend at such an alarming crisis, the disbanding of general Monk's regiment of foot;" which had the guard of Whitehall; and was by order of parliament to have been disbanded the next day. Through different causes, the motion was adopted, and a letter was sent to the king to request him to approve and confirm the resolution of the council, and to appoint the continuance of the regiment till farther order. To this the king consented; and as the rumours of fresh conspiracies were industriously kept up, those troops were continued and augmented, and a way was prepared for the gradual establishment of a standing army, under the name of guards. This should be a memento to future ages, how they credit reports of plots and conspiracies thrown out by a minister, unless the evidence of their existence be brought forward. The cry of conspiracies has been frequently nothing more than the chimera of fear, or the invention of a wicked policy to carry the schemes of ambition and despotism. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 346, 347.—Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 357.

this the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, who dissented from the establishment, thought fit publicly to disown and renounce the late insurrection.

The Independents, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and suspected to concur in all designs that might change the constitution into a commonwealth: to wipe off this odium, there was published, "A renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches and public preachers of the said judgment, living in and about the city of London, against the late horrid insurrection and rebellion acted in the said city."* Dated January 1660. In this declaration they disown the principles of a fifth monarchy, or the personal reign of king Jesus on earth, as dishonourable to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of messengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declare, (chap. 24. of their confession) that civil magistrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all subjects to pray for them, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority; and that infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience. Accordingly they cease not to pray for all sorts of blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon the person and government of his majesty, and by the grace of God will continue to do so themselves, and persuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiously-daring rebellion, they add, "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel:

* "This proclamation (Mr. Googh well observes) appears to be drawn up with more art and fallacy, than sound judgment and equity: while it reaches all the different sects of dissenters, all who do not assemble for worship in some parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it distinguishes only those looked upon as the most insignificant, and least formidable for their numbers or abilities. The Presbyterians are passed over in silence, for they could not with any colour or decency be pointed as foes to the government they had just before been conducive to establishing. The Independents are also unnoticed, probably for fear of awakening the exertion of that rigour and of those abilities, the effects whereof were yet recent in the memory of the present administration. The Anabaptists and Quakers, as new or weaker sects, are treated with less ceremony: and are ranked with the wild disturbers of the public peace: wherein justice, the characteristic virtue of good government, was designedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one confused mass." *History of the Quakers*, vol. 1. p. 443, 444.—ED.

O my soul ! come not thou into their secret, but let God divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." Signed by

Jos. Caryl	Samuel Slater	William Greenhil
George Griffiths	George Cockyan	Matth. Barker
Richard Kenrick	Thomas Goodwin	Tho. Malory
Robert Bragge	Thomas Brooks	John Loder
Ralph Venning	Corn. Helme	John Yates
John Oxenbridge	John Hodges	Thomas Owen
Philip Nye	John Bachiler	Nath. Mather
John Rowe	Seth Wood	Will. Stoughton.
Thomas Weld		

The Baptists published an apology* in behalf of themselves and their brethren of the same judgment, with a protestation against the late wicked and most horrid treason and rebellion in this city of London ; in which they avow their loyalty to the king, and promise that their practice shall be conformable ; subscribed by William Kiffen, Henry Den, John Batty, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Cowper, and about twenty-nine or thirty other names. They also addressed the king, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty ; protesting in the most solemn manner, that they had not the least knowledge of the late insurrection, nor did, directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, assist, or approve of it. They offered to give security for their peaceable behaviour, and for their supporting his majesty's person and government. But notwithstanding this, their religious assemblies were disturbed in all places, and their ministers imprisoned ;† great numbers were crowded into Newgate,

* This was subscribed by thirty ministers and principal members of the Baptist congregations. It was accompanied by another paper, called also an "Apology," which had been presented to the king some months before Venner's insurrection ; declaratory of their sentiments concerning magistracy, and of their readiness to obey the king and all in authority in all things lawful. Mr. Jessey, preaching soon after, declared to his congregation, that Venner should say, "that he believed there was not one Baptist among his adherents ; and that if they succeeded, the Baptists should know, that infant-baptism was an ordinance of Jesus Christ." In farther vindication of this people, and to shew that they were unjustly charged with opposing magistracy and government, there was published about this time a small treatise entitled "Moderation : or arguments and motives tending thereto ; humbly tendered to the honourable members of parliament." Copious extracts from this piece may be seen in Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 2. p. 42. 83.—Ed.

† Divers pious persons were haled out of their houses ; four hundred were committed to Newgate ; others to Wood-street Compter ; and many to other prisons. The first and most violent persecution was chiefly levelled against them. Amongst others, who suffered on this occasion, was Mr. Hanserd Knollys. Mr. Vavasor Powel was, early in the morning, taken from his house by a company of soldiers, and carried to prison : from whence he was conducted to Balop, and committed with

and other prisons, where they remained under close confinement till the king's coronation, when the general pardon published on that occasion set them at liberty.

The Quakers also addressed the king upon this occasion in the following words:*

" Oh king Charles!

" Our desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beseech thee, and thy council, to read these following lines, in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for our good.

" And this consider; we are about four hundred imprisoned in and about this city, of men and women from their families; besides, in the country jails above ten hundred. We desire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up."—

" London, 16th day eleventh month, 1660."†

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, " A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concern-

several others to the custody of a marshal: where they were detained nine weeks, till they were released by an order of the king and council. Mr. John Bunyan was apprehended at a meeting and committed to prison, though he offered bail, till the next sessions. He was then indicted for " devilishly and perniciously abstaining from coming to church to hear divine service; and as a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the king." He frankly owned being at the meeting. The justices took this for a confession of the indictment; and, because he refused to conform, sentenced him to perpetual banishment, on an act made by the then-parliament. Though the sentence of banishment was never executed upon him, he was kept in prison twelve years and a half, and suffered much under cruel and oppressive jailers. Above sixty dissenters were imprisoned with him: among whom were Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun, two eminent ministers well known in Bedfordshire. Mr. Bunyan was, at last, liberated on the importunity of Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 91—93. Vavasor Powel's Life, p. 129; and Robinson's Translation of Claude, vol. 2. p. 228.—Ed.

* Mr. Neal, a respectable person of the society informs me, has given two short paragraphs only of an address containing seven quarto pages of close letter-press. It underwent, it seems, several editions, not fewer than eight or ten; for being fraught with much pertinent, solid matter, as persecution continued, it was made very public. Mr. Neal, or his author Kennet, is charged with having mutilated the paragraphs which he quotes. For the second sentence stands in the original thus: " We beseech thee and thy council to read these following lines; and in tender bowels and compassion to read them over, for we write in love and compassion to your souls, and for your good." And after families should be added, in close holes and prisons.—Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 361.

ing wars and fightings." Presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660.* Upon which his majesty promised them, on the word of a king, that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were little regarded.†

The Presbyterian clergy were in some degree affected with these commotions, though envy itself could not charge them with guilt; but it was the wish and desire of the prelatical party, that they might discover their uneasiness in such a manner as might expose them to trouble; for their ruin was already determined, only some pretexts were wanting to cover the design, particularly such as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majesty's declaration from Breda, which promised, that no person should be molested purely for religion.‡ But they were insulted by the mob in the streets; when their families were singing psalms in their houses they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing stones at the windows. The Presbyterian ministers made the best retreat they could, after they had unadvisedly delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majesty's person and government, they contended for their religious principles in the press; several new pamphlets were published, and a great many old ones reprinted, about the magistrates' right of imposing things indifferent in the worship of God.—Against bowing at the name of Jesus.—The unlawfulness of the ceremonies of the church of England.—The Common Prayer-book unmasked.—Grievances and corruptions in church-government, &c. most of which were answered by divines of the episcopal party.

But the most remarkable treatise that appeared about

* Kennet's Chron. p. 366.

† Dr. Grey impeaches here the candour and fidelity of Mr. Neal, as an historian: and adds, "Sewel, a Quaker, speaks more favourably. This writer, as Dr. Grey quotes him, does say, that at this time the king shewed himself moderate, for at the solicitation of some he set at liberty about seven hundred of the people called Quakers: and that they were acquitted from any hand in Venner's plot, and that, being continually importuned, the king issued forth a declaration, that the Quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees." But though Sewel states these facts, Dr. Grey either overlooked, or forgot to inform his reader, that Mr. Neal, in charging the king with the breach of his promise, speaks on the authority of Sewel: who says, "the king seemed a good-natured prince, yet he was so misled that in process of time he seemed to have forgot what he so solemnly promised on the word of a king." History of the Quakers, p. 257.—ED.

‡ Rapin, vol. 2. p. 624, folio.

this time, and which, if it had taken place, must have prevented the mischiefs that followed,* was that of the reverend Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, and afterward the learned and worthy bishop of Worcester, who first made himself known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*, or, *A Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*; printed 1661, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of divine right, and that the church had no power to impose things indifferent. I shall beg the reader's attention to a few passages out of his preface. "The design of our Saviour (says he) was to ease men of their former burdens, and not to lay on more; the duties he required were no other but such as were necessary, and withal very just and reasonable; he that came to take away the insupportable yoke of Jewish ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of his disciples with another instead of it; and it would be strange the church should require more than Christ himself did, and make other conditions of her communion than our Saviour did of discipleship. What possible reason can be assigned or given why such things should not be sufficient for communion with the church, which are sufficient for eternal salvation? And certainly those things are sufficient for that, which are laid down as the necessary duties of Christianity by our Lord and Saviour in his word. What ground can there be why Christians should not stand upon the same terms now, which they did in the time of Christ and his apostles? Was

* A conciliating and liberal design formed by two respectable men deserves to be mentioned here. "Soon after the Restoration, the honourable Mr. Boyle and Sir Peter Pett were discoursing of the severities practised by the bishops towards the Puritans in the reign of Charles I. and of those which were returned on the episcopal divines during the following usurpations; and being apprehensive that the restored clergy might be tempted by their late sufferings to such a vindictive retaliation as would be contrary to the true measures of Christianity and politics, they came at last to an agreement, that it would tend to the public good, to have something written and published in defence of liberty of conscience. Sir Peter Pett engaged to write on the political part of the question. Mr. Boyle undertook to engage Dr. Thomas Barlow to treat of the theological part: and he also prevailed on Mr. John Dury, who had spent many years in his travels, and had taken an active part in a scheme for reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists, to state the fact of the allowance of liberty of conscience in foreign parts. Sir Peter Pett's and Mr. Dury's tracts were printed in 1666. But for particular reasons, the publication of Dr. Barlow's piece did not take place: but it was published after his death.

"Dr. Barlow had given offence by writing, just before the Restoration, a letter to Mr. Tombs, and expressing in it some prejudice against the practice of infant baptism, and by refusing, even after the Restoration, to retract that letter. This refusal was a noble conduct: for the doctor was in danger by it of losing his station in the university of Oxford and all his hopes of future preferment." This shews how obnoxious was the sect of the Baptists. *Birch's Life of Boyle*, p. 299, 300.—Ed.

not religion sufficiently guarded and fenced in them? Was there ever more true and cordial reverence in the worship of God? What charter hath Christ given the church to bind men up to more than himself hath done? Or to exclude those from her society who may be admitted into heaven? Will Christ ever thank men at the great day, for keeping such out from communion with his church, who he will vouchsafe not only crowns of glory to, but it may be *aureolæ* too, if there be any such things there? The grand commission the apostles were sent out with, was only to teach what Christ had commanded them; not the least intimation of any power given them to impose or require any thing beyond what himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate guidance of the Spirit of God. It is not, whether the things commanded and required be lawful or not? It is not, whether indifferences may be determined or no? It is not how far Christians are bound to submit to a restraint of their Christian liberty, which I now inquire after, but whether they consult the church's peace and unity who suspend it upon such things. We never read of the apostles making laws but of things necessary, as Acts xv. 19. It was not enough with them that the things would be necessary when they had required them; but they looked upon an antecedent necessity either absolute or for the present state, which was the only ground of their imposing these commands upon the Gentile Christians. But the Holy Ghost never thought those things fit to be made matters of law to which all parties should conform. All that the apostles required as to this was mutual forbearance and condescension towards each other in them. The apostles valued not indifferences at all; and those things they accounted as such which were of no concernment to their salvation. And what reason is there why men should be tied up so strictly to such things which they may do or let alone, and yet be very good Christians? Without all controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions, and divisions, of the Christian world, has been by adding other conditions of church-communion than Christ has done.—Would there ever be the less peace and unity in a church, if a diversity were allowed as to practices supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much more, as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension as to such

things. The unity of the church is a unity of love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of practice and opinion.—There is nothing in the primitive church more deserving our imitation than that admirable temper, moderation, and condescension, which was used in it towards its members. It was never thought worth the while to make any standing laws for rites and customs that had no other original but tradition, much less to suspend men her communion for not observing them.—”*

The doctor’s proposals for an accommodation were, “1. That nothing be imposed as necessary but what is clearly revealed in the word of God. 2. That nothing be required or determined but what is sufficiently known to be indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever is thus determined be in order only to a due performance of what is in general required in the word of God, and not to be looked upon as any part of divine worship or service. 4. That no sanctions be made, nor mulcts or penalties be inflicted, on such who only dissent from the use of some things whose lawfulness they at present scruple, till sufficient time and means be used for their information of the nature and indifferency of these things. I am sure (says the doctor) it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the moderation then used, to suspend or deprive men of their ministerial function for not conforming in habits and gestures, or the like. Lastly, that religion be not clogged with ceremonies; for when they are multiplied too much, though lawful, they eat out the heart, heat, life, and vigour, of Christianity.—”† If the doctor had steadily adhered to these principles, he could hardly have subscribed the act of uniformity next year, much less have written so warmly against the dissenters, as he did twenty years afterward.‡ But all he could say or do at present availed nothing, the Presbyterians were in disgrace, and no-

* *Irenicum*, p. 8—10.

† *Ibid.* p. 66, 67.

‡ “If Mr. Neal (says Dr. Grey) would allow a man to retract his mistakes upon discovering them, he would not find fault with bishop Stillingfleet.” He then quotes the bishop’s apology for his conduct, from the preface to *The Unreasonableness of Separation*. “If any thing in the following treatise be found different from the sense of that book, I entreat them to allow me that, which I heartily wish to them, that in twenty years’ time, we may arrive to such maturity of thoughts, as to see reason to change our opinion of some things, and I wish I had not cause to add, of some persons.” But notwithstanding the force of the bishop’s plea, it will not, I conceive, be deemed a fortunate or honourable change, if a man’s views and spirit, instead of enlarging and becoming more liberal, are contracted and grow narrow and partial; if, instead of being the advocate for generous and conciliating measures, he *should argue for oppression and intolerance.*—Ed.

thing could stem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

[In the year 1660, April 25, died, when the king designed to advance him to the see of Worcester, the learned Dr. Henry Hammond. In addition to the short account given of him by Mr. Neal, vol. 3. p. 392, some other particulars may be subjoined here. He was born 18th August, 1605, at Chertsey in Surrey; and was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, a physician. He received his grammar-learning at Eton-school, and in 1618 was sent to Magdalen-college in Oxford, of which he was elected fellow in July 1625, and entered into holy orders in 1629. The rectory of Penshurst was bestowed upon him by the earl of Leicester in 1633. In 1640, he was chosen one of the members of the convocation; in 1643 made archdeacon of Chichester, and the same year was named one of the assembly of divines, but never sat amongst them. He was distinguished in his youth for the sweetness of his carriage, and at the times allowed for play, would steal, from his fellows, into places of privacy to pray:—omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion. When he was at the university he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study. Charles I. said, "he was the most natural orator he had ever heard." He was extremely liberal to the poor; and was used to say, that "it was a most unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty, and it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give." He gave it as a rule to his friends of estate and quality, "to treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they might be glad to have met with them." The alms of lending had an eminent place in his practice. He was accustomed strongly to recommend to others, "to be always furnished with something to do," as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure. Devoted as he was to his studies, he would never suffer any body to wait, that came to speak to him: and to the poor he came with peculiar alacrity. *British Biography*, vol. v. p. 219. 225.—ED.]

The earl of Clarendon, lord-chancellor, was prime-minister and at the head of the king's councils. The year [1661] began with new scenes of pleasure and diversion, occasioned by the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, which was consummated April 30. The match was

promoted by general Monk and lord Clarendon, if, according to the Oxford historian, the latter was not the first mover of it.* And it was reckoned very strange, that a Protestant chancellor should advise the king to a Popish princess, when a Catholic king proposed at the same time a Protestant consort. But his lordship had farther views; for it was generally talked among the merchants, that the infant could have no children, in which case the chancellor's daughter, who had been privately married to the king's brother, must succeed, and her issue by the duke of York become heirs to the throne; which happened accordingly in the persons of queen Mary II. and queen Anne. Such were the aspiring views of this great man, which, together with his haughty behaviour, in the end proved his ruin.

The convention-parliament being dissolved, a new one was elected, and summoned to meet May 8. The house of commons, by the interest of the court-party,† had a considerable majority of such as were zealous enemies of the Presbyterians, and abettors of the principles of archbishop Laud; many of whom, having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the ministry in all their arbitrary and violent measures. The court kept above one hundred of them in constant pay, who went by the name of the club of voters, and received large sums of money out of the exchequer, till they had almost subverted the con-

* Dr. Grey observes, that Mr. Neal antedates this marriage somewhat above a year; the king met the infant at Portsmouth the 21st of May, 1662, and was then privately married to her by Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London. The doctor, on the authority of Echard, endeavours to invalidate the imputation which lies on lord Clarendon of being the promoter, if not the first mover, of this marriage. Mr. Neal is supported in his representation of the affair by the testimony of sir John Hersey, who says, "It is well known, that the lord-chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful match." He adds, "that the queen was said to have had a constant flux upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception. Though, on this occasion (says sir John), every thing was gay, and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty tolerable face. She neither in person or manners had any one article to stand in competition with the charms of the countess of Castlemain, afterward dutchess of Cleveland, the finest woman of her age." *Memoirs*, p. 9, 12. —Ed.

† There were only fifty-six members of the Presbyterian party returned, notwithstanding their great interest in almost all the corporations. But in the interval, between the two parliaments, the court-party had been active; and the hints given at the dissolution of the late parliament by the chancellor, had great weight. He recommended that "such persons should be returned as were not likely to oppose the king, but had already served him, and were likely to serve him with their whole heart, and to gratify him in all his desires."—*Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 171 and 406.—Had the people been alive to a just sense of the design of representation and the nature of the constitution, they would have received these hints with indignant contempt.—Ed.

stitution; and then, because they would not put the finishing hand to what they had unadvisedly begun, they were disbanded.

The king acquainted the houses at the opening of the sessions,* that "he valued himself much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his subjects."† But the chancellor, who commented upon the king's speech, spoke a different language, and told the house, "that there were a sort of patients in the kingdom that deserved their utmost severity, and none of their lenity; these were the seditious preachers, who could not be contented to be dispensed with for their full obedience to some laws established, without reproaching and inveighing against those laws, how established soever, who tell their auditories, that when the apostle bid them stand to their liberties he bid them stand to their arms, and who by repeating the very expressions, and teaching the very doctrines they set on foot in the year 1640, sufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to the miseries we have undergone. What good Christians can think, without horror, of these ministers of the gospel, who by their function should be messengers of peace, but are in their practice only the trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion?—And if the persons and place can aggravate their offence, so no doubt it does before God and man. Methinks the preaching rebellion and treason out of the pulpit, should be as much worse than advancing it in the market, as poisoning a man at a communion would be worse than killing him at a tavern."—His lordship concludes thus: "If you do not provide for the thorough quenching these firebrands; king, lords, and commons, shall be the meaner subjects, and the whole kingdom will be kindled into a general flame."‡ This was a home-thrust at the Presbyterians; the chancellor did not explain himself upon the authors of these seditious sermons, his design being not to accuse particular persons, but to obtain a general order which might suppress all preachers who were not of the church of England; and the parliament was prepared to run

* The king went to the house of lords, to open the sessions, with almost as much pomp and splendour as had been displayed on the coronation-day; and, says my author, for the same reasons, to dazzle the mob, and to impress on the minds of the people very exalted notions of the dignity of regal government. *Secret History, of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 407, note.—*Ed.*

† Kennet's *Chron.* p. 434.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 510, 511.

blindfold into all the court-measures; for in this sessions the militia was given absolutely to the king—the solemn league and covenant was declared void and illegal—the act for disabling persons in holy orders to exercise temporal jurisdiction was repealed—the bishops were restored to their seats in parliament—the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th of Charles I. except the oath *ex officio*—and it was made a premunire to call the king a Papist.*

The storm was all this while gathering very black over the Presbyterians; for when the parliament met a second time, November 20, the king complimented the bishops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and observed in his speech, that it was a felicity he had much desired to see, as the only thing wanting to restore the old constitution. He then spoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons, “that there were many wicked instruments who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace.—That it was worthy of their care to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; that if they found new diseases they must find new remedies. That the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care and deliberation who could best provide for them.” The tendency of this speech was to make way for breaking through the Breda declaration, and to furnish the parliament with a pretence for treating the Nonconformists with rigour, to which they were themselves too well inclined.

Lord Clarendon, in a conference between the two houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom; and though it was disconcerted in the city, it was carried on in divers counties; a committee was therefore appointed to inquire into the truth of the re-

* To Mr. Neal's detail of the acts of this sessions, it should be added, that the commons voted, that all their members should receive the sacrament according to the prescribed liturgy, before a certain day, under penalty of expulsion. This was intended as a test of their religious sincerity. Besides repealing the solemn league and covenant, they ordered it to be taken out of all the courts and places where it was recorded, and to be burnt by the common hangman. To the same sentence were doomed all acts, ordinances, or engagements, which had been dictated by a republican spirit during the late times. And they enervated the right of petitioning by various restrictions; limiting the number of signatures to twenty, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and of those who should present a petition to the king or either house of parliament to ten persons, under the penalty of a fine of 100*l.* and three months' imprisonment. *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 412—414.—Ed.

port; but after all their examinations not one single person was convicted, or so much as prosecuted for it.* Great pains were taken to fasten some treasonable designs on the Presbyterians; letters were sent from unknown hands to the chiefs of the party in several parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general insurrection, in which their friends were concerned, and desiring them to communicate it to certain persons in their neighbourhood, whom they name in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the reverend Mr. Sparry, in Worcestershire, desiring him and captain Yarrington to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. Oatland and Mr. Baxter with the design. This, with a packet of the same kind, was said to be left under a hedge by a Scots pedlar; and as soon as they were found, they were carried to sir J. Packington, who immediately committed Sparry, Oatland, and Yarrington, to prison. The militia of the county was raised, and the city of Worcester put into a posture of defence; but the sham was so notorious, that the earl of Bristol, though a Papist, was ashamed of it; and after some time the prisoners, for want of evidence, were released. The members for Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and Staffordshire, informed the commons, that they had rumours of the like conspiracies in their counties. Bishop Burnet says, "that many were taken up, but none tried; that this was done to fasten an odium on the Presbyterians, and to help carry the penal laws through the house; and there were appearances of foul dealing (says he) among the fiercer sort." Mr. Locke adds, that the reports of a general insurrection were spread over the whole nation, by the very persons who invented them; and though lord Clarendon could not but be acquainted with the farce, he kept it on foot to facilitate passing the severe laws that were now coming upon the carpet.† The government could not with decency attack the Nonconformists purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too express on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raising disturbances in the state. But supposing the fact to be true, that some few malecontents had been seditiously disposed, which yet was never made out, what reason can be assigned why it should be charged upon the princi-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

† Rapin, vol. 2. p. 627.

ples of a whole body of men, who were unquestionably willing to be quiet?

It was nevertheless on this base and dishonourable suggestion, that the first penal law which passed against the Non-conformists this session was founded,* entitled,

"An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations;" which enacts, "that within the several cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque-ports, and other port-towns within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common-council-men, and other persons bearing any office or offices of magistracy, or places, or trusts, or other employment, relating to or concerning the government of the said respective cities, corporations, and boroughs, and cinque-ports, and their members, and other port-towns, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and this oath following:

"I A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him."†

They shall also subscribe the following declaration:

"I A. B. do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was an unlawful oath imposed on the subject against the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall hereafter be elected or chosen into any of the offices or places aforesaid, that shall not have within one year next before such election or choice taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites of the church of England; and that every person so elected shall take the aforesaid oaths, and subscribe the said declaration at the same time when the oath for the due

* Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

† "One would suppose (it has been well remarked), that the parliament, who prescribed such an oath, must have been as nearsighted and as stupid as they were servile and corrupt. Such a maxim of nonresistance to the king, on any pretence, was directly subversive of their own consequence as well as of civil and religious liberty. The extent, to which this principle might be carried, was put to the proof by James II. but the people of England rent asunder the chains which had been forged for them by their perfidious representatives." *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 426, note.—Ed.

execution of the said places and offices shall be respectively administered."

Thus all Nonconformists were turned out of all the branches of magistracy at once, and rendered incapable of serving their country in the offices of a common-councilman, or a burgess or bailiff of the smallest corporation. The oath imposed in this act robbed them of their right as subjects. Mr. Echard confesses that it seems at once to give up the whole constitution; and no wonder, says he, if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, espoused a doctrine which, if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the great deliverance afterward. Mr. Rapin adds,* that to say that it is not lawful on any pretence whatever to resist the king, is, properly speaking, to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands. The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority. But even this parliament did not think fit afterward to admit the dangerous consequences of their own maxims.

Commissioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to visit the several corporations in England, and to turn out of office such as were in the least suspected; who executed their commissions with so much rigour, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the king and the church.

CHAP. VI.

FROM THE CONFERENCE AT THE SAVOY, TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY. 1661.

ACCORDING to his majesty's declaration of October 25, 1660, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, twelve bishopst and nine assistants were appointed on the part of the episcopal church of England, and as many ministers on the side of the Presbyterians, to assemble at the bishop of London's lodgings at

* Vol. 2. p. 628.

† Dr. Nichols reckons twelve bishops, but has left out the bishop of Chichester, and named Edward bishop of Norwich. Dr. Kennet names thirteen bishops, amongst whom are the bishops of Chichester and Norwich. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 208.—Ed.

the Savoy, "to review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing it with the most ancient and purest liturgies; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of March 1661, and then present the result of their conferences to his majesty under their several hands.

The names of the episcopal divines on the side of the establishment at the Savoy conference were,

The Most Rev. Dr. Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York
 The Right Rev. Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London
 Dr. John Cosins, bishop of Durham
 Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester
 Dr. Henry King, bishop of Chichester
 Dr. Humphry Henchman, bishop of Sarum
 Dr. George Morley, bishop of Worcester
 Dr. Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln
 Dr. Benjamin Laney, bishop of Peterborough
 Dr. Bryan Walton, bishop of Chester
 Dr. Richard Sterne, bishop of Carlisle
 Dr. John Gauden, bishop of Exeter.

Their Assistants,

John Earle, D. D. dean of Westminster	John Pearson, D. D.
Peter Heylin, D. D.	Thomas Pierce, D. D.
John Hacket, D. D.	Antony Sparrow, D. D.
John Barwick, D. D.	Herbert Thorndike, B. D.
Peter Gunning, D. D.	

The names of the Presbyterian divines, or those who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the church at the Savoy conference, were,

The Right Rev. Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich
 The Rev. Antony Tuckney, D. D. M. St. John's college, Cambridge
 John Conant, D. D. Reg. Prof. Oxon
 William Spurstow, D. D. vicar, Hackney
 John Wallis, D. D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
 Thomas Manton, D. D. master of Covent-garden
 Edmund Calamy, B. D. of Aldermanbury
 Mr. Richard Baxter, clerk, late of Kidderminster
 Mr. Arthur Jackson, clerk of St. Faith's
 Mr. Thomas Case, clerk, rector of St. Giles
 Mr. Samuel Clarke, clerk, of St. Bene't Fink
 Mr. Matth. Newcomen, clerk, of Dedham.

Their Assistants,

The Rev. Thomas Horton, D. D.
 Thomas Jacobus, D. D.
 William Bates, D. D.
 William Cooper, D. D.
 John Lightfoot, D. D.

The Rev. John Collins, D. D.
 Benj. Woodbridge, B. D.
 Mr. John Rawlinson, clerk
 Mr. Wm. Drake, clerk.

When the commissioners* were assembled the first time April 15, the archbishop of York stood up and said, he knew little of the business they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London, who gave it as his opinion, that the Presbyterians having desired this conference, they [the bishops] should neither say nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints against the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments.† The Presbyterians humbly moved for a conference according to the words of the commission, but the bishop of London insisting peremptorily upon his own method, the others consented to bring in their exceptions at one time, and their additions at another. For this purpose bishop Reynolds, Dr. Wallis, and the rest of the Presbyterian party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions;‡ but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intrusted with Mr. Baxter alone. "Bishop Sheldon saw well enough (says Burnet§) what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their demands at once, that the number would raise a mighty outcry against them as a people that could never be satisfied." On the other hand, the Presbyterians were divided in their sentiments; some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and a union followed, it might be easier to obtain others afterward. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. Baxter, were for extending their desires to the utmost, and thought themselves bound by the words of the commission to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without considering what an aspect this would have with

* "Though the Baptists in England were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongst them for learning and piety as most in the commission; yet no regard was had to their case, nor any one of that persuasion appointed to have any share in it. They did not design to reform so far; for if they could but bring the Presbyterian party in, which was the most numerous of the dissenters, that might be sufficient to secure their power; though, by the consequence of this proceeding, it seems probable, there was no design of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time." Crosby, vol. 2. p. 84, 85.—Ed.

† Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 305.

‡ Ibid. p. 306.

§ P. 262.

the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of those who were now their superiors in numbers and strength,* but when they were put in mind that the king's commission gave them no power to alter the government of the church, nor to insist upon archbishop Usher's model, nor so much as to claim the concessions of his majesty's late declaration, they were quite heartless; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and Common Prayer-book. This was concluded beforehand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the Presbyterians with a show of decency.

The ministers were under this farther hardship, that they were to transact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their decisions; they told the king and the prime-minister, that they should be glad to consult their absent brethren, and receive from them a commission in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own sense of things, to which they consented, provided the bishops at the same time would bring in their concessions; but these being content to abide by the liturgy as it then stood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the Presbyterians should make appear to be necessary. With this dark and melancholy prospect the conference was opened.† It would interrupt the course of this history too much, to insert all the exceptions of the Presbyterians to the present liturgy, and the papers which passed between the commissioners, with the letter of the Presbyterian ministers to the archbishop and bishops, and the report they made of the whole to the king. I shall only take notice in this place, that, instead of drawing up a few supplemental forms, and making some amendments to the old liturgy, Mr. Baxter composed an entire new one in the language of Scrip-

* "This (observes a late writer) was precisely what the advocates for persecution desired: they could say, that the king had taken every step, which the best policy and the tenderest concern for the happiness of all his subjects could suggest, to gain over and compose the jarring sects into a system of perfect harmony, but that all his wise and benevolent endeavours were defeated by the wilful obstinacy and perverseness of the Nonconformists; and that he must therefore now pursue such measures as the safety both of the church and state required." *Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 349, 350.—Ed.

† N. B. All the papers relating to the conference at the Savoy are collected in a book, entitled, "The History of Nonconformity," as it was argued and stated by commissioners on both sides appointed by his majesty king Charles II. in the year 1661. Octavo, second edit. 1708.

ture, which he called the reformed liturgy; not with a design entirely to set aside the old one, but to give men liberty to use either as they approved. It was drawn up in a short compass of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was presented to the bishops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the old liturgy. This gave great offence, as presuming that a liturgy drawn up by a single hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or stand in competition with one which had been received in the church for a whole century. Besides, it was inconsistent with the commission and the bishops' declaration of varying no farther from the old standard than should appear to be necessary; and therefore the reformed liturgy, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

When the Presbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they presented at the same time a petition for peace, beseeching the bishops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the subscriptions and oaths in his majesty's late declaration, and not to insist upon the reordination of those who had been ordained without a diocesan bishop, nor upon the surplice, the cross in baptism, and other indifferent ceremonies; for this purpose they make use of various motives and arguments, sufficient, in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honour of God, and the salvation of souls. The bishops gave a particular answer to these exceptions; to which the Presbyterians made such a reply as, in the opinion of their adversaries, shewed them to be men of learning, and well versed in the practice of the ancient church; however, the bishops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they sent them a large expostulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

The term for the treaty being almost spun out in a paper controversy,* about ten days before the commission expired, a disputation was agreed on, to argue the necessity of alter-

* In the course of this controversy many points, connected with the doctrine and manner of baptism, came into discussion: such as, the right of the children of Heathens, or of the excommunicated, to baptism; the efficacy of children's baptism; the qualifications for this ordinance; the use of godfathers and godmothers, and of the sign of the cross, and other questions: the debate on which, it is said, contributed much to encourage and promote what was called Anabaptism. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 83, 86.—Ed.

ations in the present liturgy.* Three of each party were chosen to manage the argument; Dr. Pearson, Gunning, and Sparrow, on one side; and Dr. Bates, Jacomb, and Mr. Baxter, on the other. The rest were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased. Mr. Baxter was opponent, and began to prove the sinfulness of impositions; but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, the dispute issued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the Presbyterian ministers and laughing them to scorn. At length bishop Cosins produced a paper,† containing an expedient to shorten the debate, which was, to put the ministers on distinguishing between those things which they charged as sinful, and those which were only inexpedient. The three disputants on the ministers' side were desired to draw up an answer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubric and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly sinful, and contrary to the word of God.‡

1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without using the sign of the cross.

2. That no minister be admitted to officiate without wearing a surplice.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's supper without he receive it kneeling.

4. That ministers be obliged to pronounce all baptized persons regenerated by the Holy Ghost, whether they be the children of Christians or not.

5. That ministers be obliged to deliver the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to the unfit both in health and sickness, and that, by personal application, putting it into their hands, even those who are forced to receive it against their wills, through consciousness of their impenitency.

6. That ministers are obliged to absolve the unfit, and that in absolute expressions.

7. That ministers are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as brethren whom God has taken to himself.

8. That none may be preachers who do not subscribe, that there is nothing in the Common Prayer-book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God.

* Baxter's Life, part 2, p. 337.

‡ Baxter's Life, part 2, p. 341.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 504.

After a great deal of loose discourse it was agreed to debate the third article, of denying the communion to such as could not kneel. The ministers proved their assertion thus, that it was denying the sacrament to such whom the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive; Rom. xiv. 1—3; "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations: one believes he may eat all things; another, that is weak, eateth herbs: let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him." The episcopal divines would not understand this of the communion. They also distinguished between things lawful in themselves, and things both lawful in themselves and required by lawful authority. In the former case they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by authority become necessary. The ministers replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made necessary; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apostle's reasoning, and so contradict the law of God. But when Dr. Gunning had read certain citations* and authorities for the other side of the question, bishop Cosins the moderator called out to the rest of the bishops and doctors, and put the question, "All you that think Dr. Gunning has proved that Romans xiv. speaketh not of receiving the sacrament, say aye." Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, Aye, aye; the episcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the ministers had not above two or three gentlemen and scholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheless they maintained their point, and, as bishop Burnet observes, insisted upon it, that a "law which excludes all from the sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of Christ, which ought to be the only condition of those that have a right to it."

At length the episcopal divines became opponents upon the same question, and argued thus: "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, is not sinful." Which Mr. Baxter denied. They then added, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful." This also Mr.

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 506.

Baxter denied. They then advanced farther, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby an unjust penalty is enjoined, or any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty." This also was denied, because, though it does not command that which is sinful, it may restrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue subjects. Other reasons were assigned;* but the dispute broke off with noise and confusion, and high reflections upon Mr. Baxter's dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, scholastic, metaphysical manner of distinguishing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and bishop Saunderson being then in the chair, pronounced that Dr. Gunning had the better of the argument.

Bishop Morley said, that Mr. Baxter's denying that plain proposition, was destructive of all authority human and divine; that it struck the church out of all its claims for making canons, and for settling order and discipline; nay, that it took away all legislative power from the king and parliament, and even from God himself; for no act can be so good in itself, but may lead to a sin by accident; and if to command such an act be a sin, then every command must be a sin.

Bishop Burnet adds,† "that Baxter and Gunning spent several days in logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who looked upon them as a couple of fencers engaged in a dispute that could not be brought to any end. The bishops insisted upon the laws being still in force; to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of them was sinful. They charged the Presbyterians with making a schism for that which they could not prove to be sinful. They said there was no reason to gratify such men; that one demand granted would draw on many more; that all authority in church and state was struck at by the position they had insisted on, namely, that it was not lawful to impose things indifferent, since these seemed

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 505.

† Vol. 1. p. 264.

to be the only matters in which authority could interfere." —Thus ended the disputation.

From arguments the ministers descended to entreaties, and prayed the bishops to have compassion on scrupulous minds, and not despise their weaker brethren. If the Non-conformists should be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they put them in mind of their peaceable behaviour in the late times; what they had suffered for the royal cause, and the great share they had in restoring the king; they pleaded his majesty's late declaration, and the design of the present conference. To all which the bishops replied, that they were only commissioned to make such alterations in the liturgy as should be necessary, and such as should be agreed upon. The ministers replied, that the word necessary must refer to the satisfying tender consciences; but the bishops insisted, that they saw no alterations necessary, and therefore were not obliged so make any till they could prove them so. The ministers prayed them to consider the ill consequence that might follow upon a separation. But all was to no purpose, their lordships were in the saddle, and, if we may believe Mr. Baxter, would not abate the smallest ceremony, nor correct the grossest error, for the peace of the church. Thus the king's commission expired July 25, and the conferences ended without any prospect of accommodation.

It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his majesty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the church's welfare, unity, and peace, but still disagreed as to the means of procuring them. The bishops thought they had no occasion to represent their case in writing; but the Presbyterian commissioners met by themselves, and drew up an account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the bishops.* They presented it to

* Mr. Crosby says, "he had been informed, that when the Presbyterians were pleading hard for such concessions from his majesty as they thought would bring about a ~~settle~~, the lord-chancellor told them, his majesty had received petitions from the Anabaptists, who desired nothing more than to have liberty to worship God according to their consciences. At which they were all struck dumb, and remained in a long silence." Mr. Baxter places this matter in another light: that petitions having been received from the Independents and Anabaptists, the chancellor proposed to add a clause to the king's declaration, permitting others, besides the Presbyterians, to meet, if they did it peaceably, for religious worship, secure from molestation by any civil officer. On this the bishops and the Presbyterians, seeing it would operate in favour of the Papists, were silent: till Mr. Baxter, judging that consenting to it

the king by bishop Reynolds, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Baxter;* but received no answer.

Before we leave this famous conference at the Savoy, it will not be amiss to remark the behaviour of the commissioners on both sides, some of whom seldom or never appeared, as, Dr. King bishop of Chichester, Dr. Heylin, Barwick, and Earle;† Sheldon bishop of London came but seldom, though he, with Henchman and Morley, had the chief management of affairs;‡ others who were present, but did not much concern themselves in the debate, as, Dr. Frewen archbishop of York; Lucy of St. David's; Warner of Rochester; Saunderson of Lincoln; Laney of Peterborough; Walton of Chester; Sterne of Carlisle; Dr. Hacket and Dr. Sparrow. On the side of the Presbyterians Dr. Horton never appeared, nor Dr. Drake, because of a misnomer in the commission; Dr. Lightfoot, Tuckney, and Mr. Woodbridge, were present only once or twice.

Among the bishops; Dr. Morley was the chief speaker; his manner was vehement, and he was against all abatements. He frequently interrupted Mr. Baxter;§ and when Dr. Bates said, "Pray, my lord, give him leave to speak," he could not obtain it.

Bishop Cosins was there constantly, and though he was inclined to moderate measures, said some very severe things. When the ministers prayed the bishops to have some compassion on their brethren, and not cast such great numbers unnecessarily out of the ministry, he replied, "What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the king would do well to make you name them all." Again, when the ministers complained, that after so many years' calamity the bishops would not yield to that which their

would bring on them the charge of speaking for the toleration of Papists and sectaries, and that opposing it would draw on them the resentment of all sects and parties as the causes of their sufferings, said "that as they humbly thanked his majesty for his indulgence to themselves, so they must distinguish the tolerable parties from the intolerable: that for the former they craved favour and lenity; but that they could not request the toleration of the latter, such as the Papists and Socinians, whom Dr. Gunning, speaking against the sects, had then named." To this his majesty said, "that there were laws enough against the Papists." Mr. Baxter replied, "they understood the question to be, whether these laws should be executed on them or not." And so his majesty broke up the meeting of that day. Crosby's History of the Papists, vol. 2. p. 87—89. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 277.—Ed.

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 366.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 507.

‡ Ibid. p. 307.

§ Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 363.

predecessors offered them before the war, bishop Cosins replied, "Do you threaten us then with a new war? It is time for the king to look to you."

Bishop Gauden often took part with the Presbyterian divines, and was the only moderator among the bishops, except bishop Reynolds, who spoke much the first day for abatements and moderation; but afterward, sitting among the bishops he only spoke now and then a qualifying word, though he was heartily grieved for the fruitless issue of the conference.

Of the disputants, it is said, Dr. Pearson, afterward bishop of Chester, disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly. The Presbyterian ministers had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an umpire in the controversy his concessions would have greatly relieved them.

Dr. Gunning was the most forward speaker, and stuck at nothing. Bishop Burnet says,*that all the arts of sophistry were used by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning; that he was unweariedly active to very little purpose, and being very fond of the Popish rituals and ceremonies, he was much set upon reconciling the church of England to Rome.

On the side of the Presbyterians, Dr. Bates and Manton behaved with great modesty: the most active disputant was Mr. Baxter, who had a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and was one of the most ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. Calamy, who had a great interest among the Presbyterian ministers in city and country, and for his age and gravity was respected as their father.

Among the auditors, Mr. Baxter observes,† there was with the bishops a crowd of young divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three scholars and laymen, who, as auditors, came in with the Presbyterians, as Mr. Miles, Mr. Tillotson, &c.

THE Mr. Tillotson was afterward the most reverend and learned archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most celebrated divines and preachers of the age. We shall have frequent occasion to mention him hereafter, and therefore, I shall give a short account of him in this place. He was

* Page 263, 264.

† Baxter's Life, p. 337.

born in Yorkshire 1630, and received his first education among the Puritans; and though he had freer notions, he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and a due tenderness for men of that persuasion. He was admitted student of Clare-hall in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. David Clarkson, in the year 1647. He was bachelor of arts 1650, and within the compass of a year was elected fellow. He had then a sweetness of temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in those early years was respected as a person of very great parts and prudence.* In the year 1661, he continued a Nonconformist, and has a sermon in the morning exercises on Matt. vii. 12. He appeared with the Presbyterians at the Savoy disputation; and though he conformed upon the act of uniformity in 1662, he was always inclined to the Puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would dispense sometimes with those who could not conscientiously submit to them. He owned the dissenters had some plausible objections against the common-prayer; and, in the opinion of some, persuaded men rather to bear with the church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663, he was preferred to the rectory of Kedington in Suffolk, vacant by the nonsubscription of Mr. Samuel Fairclough. Next year he was chosen preacher to Lincoln's-inn, and lecturer of St. Lawrence's church in London, where his excellent sermons, delivered in a most graceful manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and of most of the divines and gentlemen in the city. In 1669, he was made canon of Christ-church in Canterbury; and in 1672, dean of that church, and residentiary: but rose no higher till the revolution of king William and queen Mary, when he was first made clerk of the closet, and then advanced at once to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the room of Dr. Sancroft a nonjuror. He was a divine of moderate principles to the last, and always disposed to promote a toleration, and if possible a comprehension of the dissenters within the church. Upon the whole, he was a second Cranmer, and one of the most valuable prelates that this, or, it may be, any other church ever produced.

Various censures were passed within doors upon the Savoy conference; the Independents were disgusted; because

* Athen. Oxon. p. 968.

none of them were consulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehension. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they saw the fruitless end of the treaty, and the papers that were published, most of them were satisfied.—Bishop Burnet says,* the conference did rather hurt than good, it heightened the sharpness which was already on people's minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher.—Mr. Robinson says,† “It was notorious that the business of the episcopal party was not to consult the interest of religion, but to cover a political design, which was too bad to appear at first; nor did they mean to heal the church's wounds, so much as to revenge their own. When they knew what the Presbyterians scrupled, they said, now they knew their minds they would have matters so fixed that not one of that sort should be able to keep his living. They did not desire, but rather fear, their compliance.” Nay, so unacceptable was the publishing the papers relating to the conference, that bishop Saunderson and some of his brethren cautioned their clergy against reading them. From this time the Presbyterians were out of the question, and the settlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

It had been debated in council, whether there should be a convocation while the conference at the Savoy was depending; but at the intercession of Dr. Heylin and others, the court was prevailed with to consent that there should; and such care was taken in the choice of members, as bishop Burnet observes, that every thing went among them as was directed by bishop Sheldon and Morley. If a convocation had been holden with the convention-parliament, the majority would have been against the hierarchy; but it is not to be wondered they were otherwise now, when some hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy, who were in possession of sequestered livings, had been dispossessed; and the necessity of ordination by a bishop being urged upon those who had been ordained by presbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections. Nevertheless the Presbyterian interest carried it in London for Mr. Baxter and Ca-

* Page 265.

† Answer to Bennett, of *Liturgies*, p. 382.

lany by three voices; but the bishop of London, having a power of choosing two out of four, or four out of six within a certain circuit, left them both out; by which means the city of London had no clerks in the convocation. The author of the Conformists' Plea* says, "that to frame a convocation to their mind great care and pains were used to keep out, and to get men in, by very undue proceedings; and that protestations were made against all incumbents not ordained by bishops."

The Savoy conference having ended without success, the king sent a letter to the convocation, November 20, commanding them to review the Book of Common Prayer, and make such additions and amendments† as they thought necessary. Letters to the same purpose were sent to the archbishop of York, to be communicated to the clergy of his province, who for the greater expedition sent proxies with procuratorial letters to those of Canterbury, and obliged themselves to abide by their votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels.

"It is inconceivable, says Dr. Nichols, what difficulties the bishops had to contend with, about making these alterations; they were not only to conquer their own former resentments, and the unreasonable demands of Presbyterians, but they had the court to deal with, who pushed them on to all acts of severity."‡ Whereas on the contrary, the tide was strong on their side, the bishops pushed on the court, who were willing to give them the reins, that when the breach was made as wide as possible a door might be opened for the toleration of Papists. The review of the Common Prayer-book engaged the convocation a whole month; and on the 20th of December it was signed, and approved by all the members of both houses.

* Page 35.

† It was required, "that all proposed alterations should be exhibited and presented for his majesty's farther allowance and confirmation:" this was accordingly done. He was finally to pronounce on the propriety and truth of the proposed alterations. All the debates, investigations, and decisions, of the clergy and bishops, had no efficacy without the sanction of the king. They might be mistaken: but he could not. There is an absurdity in ascribing infallibility to any human being, necessarily liable to imperfect views, to prejudices, and to error. "But, if possible, the absurdity is greater in attributing it to the sceptred rather than to the mitred sovereign. The former is not educated to a religious profession; and his time, from the moment he fills the throne, that is, from the moment he becomes infallible, must be constantly employed in civil concerns: but yet, as the head of the church, to him all truth is known; to him all appeals from the ecclesiastical courts must be made." *A Treatise on Heresy*, p. 73, 74.—Hæ.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 574.

The alterations were these,*

1. The rubric for singing of lessons,† &c. was omitted, the distinct reading of them being thought more proper.

2. Several collects for Sundays and holy-days complained of, were omitted, and others substituted in their room.

3. Communicants at the Lord's supper were enjoined to signify their names to the curate some time the day before.

4. The preface to the ten commandments was restored.‡

5. The exhortations to the holy communion were amended.

6. The general confession in the communion-office was appointed to be read by one of the ministers.

7. In the office for Christmas-day the words "this day" were changed for "as at this time."

8. In the prayer of consecration the priest is directed to break the bread.

9. The rubric for explaining the reason of kneeling at the sacrament was restored.

10. Private baptism is not to be administered but by a lawful minister.

11. The answer to the question in the catechism, "Why then are children baptized?" is thus amended, "Because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform."

12. In the last rubric before the catechism these words are expunged, "And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their confirmation," &c.

13. It is appointed that the curate of every parish shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop to be confirmed.

14. The rubric after confirmation was thus softened; "None shall be admitted to the communion till such time

* Kennet's *Chronicle*, p. 585.

† The rubric in king James's Review directed also the two lessons to be distinctly read, but it added; "To the end the people may better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the epistle and gospel." Grey's *Examination*, p. 308.—Ed.

‡ "So indeed says bishop Kennet (remarks Dr. Grey); but they are both mistaken. The commandments were not in king Edward's first liturgy, but in king Edward's 1552, and in the *Reviews* of queen Elizabeth and king James." Grey's *Examination*, p. 369.—Ed.

as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed."

15. In the form of matrimony, instead of, "till death us depart," it is, "till death us do part."

16. In the rubrics after the form of matrimony, it is thus altered, "After which, if there be no sermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the minister shall read as followeth:"—and instead of the second rubric, it is advised to be convenient, that the new-married persons should receive the communion at the time of marriage, or at the first opportunity afterward.

17. In the order for visitation of the sick it is thus amended: "Here the sick person shall be moved to make special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; after which the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort."

18. In the communion for the sick the minister is not enjoined to administer the sacrament to every sick person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

19. In the order for the burial of the dead it is thus altered: the priests and clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, and going before it either into the church, or towards the grave, shall say or sing,—In the office itself, these words, "In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life," are thus altered, "in sure and certain hope of *the* resurrection to eternal life;" and to lessen the objection of "God's taking to himself the soul of this our dear brother departed," &c. the following rubric is added: "Here is to be noted, that the office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themselves."

20. In the churching of women the new rubric directs, that the woman at the usual time after her delivery, shall come into the church decently apparelled, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, as has been accustomed, or as the ordinary shall direct, and the hundred and sixteenth or hundred and seventeenth psalm shall be read.

Dr. Tenison, afterward archbishop of Canterbury, says, "They made about six hundred small alterations or additions," but then adds, "If there was reason for these changes, there was equal if not greater reason for some farther improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come to

pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much and no more; and yet I also believe, if they had offered to move much farther, 'a stone would have been laid under their wheel, by a secret but powerful hand;' for the mystery of Popery did even then work.* Bishop Burnet confesses, that no alterations were made in favour of the Presbyterians; for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing.

But besides the alterations and amendments already mentioned, there were several additional forms of prayer,† as for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, forms of prayer to be used at sea; and a new office for the administration of baptism to grown persons.‡ Some corrections were made in the calendar. Some new holidays were added, as the conversion of St. Paul and St. Barnabas.§ More new lessons were taken out of the Apocrypha, as, the story of Bel and the Dragon, &c. But it was agreed, that no Apocryphal lessons should be read on Sundays. These were all the concessions the convocation would admit;|| and this was all the fruit of the conference at the Savoy, by which, according to Mr. Baxter and bishop Burnet, the Common Prayer-book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war.

The Common Prayer-book thus altered and amended was sent up to the king and council, and from thence transmitted to the house of peers, February 24, with this message, That his majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the same; and doth recommend it to the house of peers, that "the said books of Common Prayer, and of the forms of ordination, and consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons,

* Compl. Hist. p. 252. in marg.

† Besides the new forms specified by Mr. Neal, there were also added, Dr. Grey says, the prayer for the high court of parliament, the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. Examination, p. 310.—Ed.

‡ This service was added, because on account of the spread of Baptistical sentiments, there were now many grown up too old to be baptized as infants, whose duty it was to make a profession of their own faith. Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, vol. 2. p. 215.—Ed.

§ These two holidays, though then first appointed by act of parliament, were not now added to the calendar; for they stand in the liturgy of Edward VI. by Whitchurch, 1549; in his Review, 1552; in queen Elizabeth's Review, 4to. 1601; in king James's Review, 1609; and in the Scotch liturgy at Edinburgh, folio, 1637. Grey's Examination, p. 311. It may be added, they are, with suitable collects, in the liturgy printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1629, *penes me*.—Ed.

|| There is one alteration not mentioned by Mr. Neal. In the second collect, in the visitation of the sick, these words are omitted; "Visite him, O Lord, as thou didst Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant:" which were in king Edward's, queen Elizabeth's, and king James's Review. Id. p. 311.—Ed.

with those additions and alterations that have been made, and presented to his majesty by the convocation, be the book which in and by the intended act of uniformity shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, &c. and in all parish-churches of England and Wales, under such sanctions or penalties as the parliament shall think fit.”* When the lords had gone through the book, the lord-chancellor Hyde, by order of the house, gave the bishops thanks, March 15, for their care in this business;† and desired their lordships to give the like thanks to the lower house of convocation, and acquaint them, that their amendments were well received and approved, though some of them met with a considerable opposition. From the lords they were sent down to the commons, and inserted in the act of uniformity, as will be seen under the next year.

But before this famous act had passed either house the Presbyterians were reduced to the utmost distress. In the month of March, 1661—2,‡ the grand jury at Exeter found above forty bills of indictment against some eminent Non-conformist ministers for not reading the common-prayer according to law. They likewise presented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of sequestered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching sedition and rebellion in private houses, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They also presented such as neglected their own parish-churches, and run abroad to hear factious ministers; and such as walked in the churchyards, or other places, while divine service was reading; all which were the certain forerunners of a general persecution.

In Scotland the court carried their measures with a high hand; for having got a parliament to their mind,§ the earl of Middleton, a most notorious debauchee, opened it, with presenting a letter of his majesty’s to the house; after which they passed an act, declaring all leagues not made with the king’s authority illegal. This struck at the root of the covenant made with England in 1643.¶ They passed another act rescinding all acts made since the late troubles, and another empowering the king to settle the government of the

* Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 633.

† Id. p. 647.

‡ Burnet, p. 166.

§ Id. p. 642, 643.

¶ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 161.

church as he should please. It was a mad, roaring time, says the bishop, and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The king hereupon directed that the church should be governed by synods, presbyters, and kirk-sessions, till he should appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his council of Scotland, bearing date August 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniences which had attended the Presbyterian government for the last twenty-three years, and its inconsistency with monarchy.—“Therefore (says he) from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the Protestant religion, and the better harmony with the government of the church of England, we declare our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles. And our will and pleasure is, that you take effectual care to restore the rents belonging to the several bishopricks; that you prohibit the assembling of ministers in their synodical meetings till our farther pleasure; and that you keep a watchful eye over those, who by discourse or preaching endeavour to alienate the affections of our people from us or our government.”—Pursuant to these directions the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make public proclamation at the market-cross in Edinburgh, September 6, of this his majesty’s royal will and pleasure. In the month of December a commission was issued out to the bishops of London and Worcester* to ordain and consecrate according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, Mr. James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr. Andrew Fairfoul, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. Robert Leighton, bishop of Dunblain, and Mr. James Hamilton, bishop of Galloway. A very bad choice, says bishop Burnet. Sharp was one of the falsest and vilest dissemblers in the world. Fairfoul was next akin to a natural. Leighton was an excellent prelate; but Hamilton’s life was scarce free from scandal.† He had sworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he said, “Such medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed whole.”‡ The English bishops insisted upon

* Burnet, p. 133, 134.

† Ibid. p. 191, 192.

‡ It is here, as Dr. Grey remarks, that Mr. Neal has strangely confounded two characters: ascribing to bishop Hamilton what bishop Burnet has applied to bishop Fairfoul. It is singular that Dr. Grey has, in the next paragraph, committed a similar

their renouncing their Presbyterian orders, which they consented to, and were, in one and the same day, ordained, first deacons, then priests, and last of all bishops according to the rites of the church of England.

Bishop Burnet says, that though the king had a natural hatred to presbytery, he went very coldly into this design; nay, that he had a visible reluctance against it, because of the temper of the Scots nation, and his unwillingness to involve his government in new troubles; but the earl of Clarendon* pushed it forward with great zeal; and the duke of Ormond said, that episcopacy could not be established in Ireland, if presbytery continued in Scotland. The earls of Lauderdale and Crawford indeed opposed it, but the council of Scotland not protesting, it was determined; but it was a large strain of the prerogative for a king by a royal proclamation to alter the government of a church established by law, without consent of parliament, convocation, or synod, of any kind whatsoever; for it was not until May the next year that this affair was decided in parliament.

Some of the Scots ministers preached boldly against this change of government; and among others, Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, for which, and some other things, he was convicted of sedition and treason. Bishop Burnet,† who saw him suffer, says that he expressed a contempt of death; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder with the composure of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed June 14, 1661, and concluded his dying speech with these words,‡ “I take God to record upon my soul, that I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and has revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of

mistake; for quoting Mr. Neal's account of the death of Mr. James Guthrie, who, on the authority of Burnet, he says, “spoke an hour before his execution with great composure,” he admits the correctness of this passage: but adds, that Burnet, but two pages before, said, that Mr. Guthrie spoke for half an hour with great appearance of serenity; and observes, “so consistent was this great man with himself in the compass of two pages.” Now the inconsistency is in Dr. Grey, and not bishop Burnet, who speaks in the first place not of Mr. Guthrie, but of the marquis of Argyle, vol. 1. p. 179.—Ed.

* Hist. p. 130, 131. Kennet's Chron. p. 577. † Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 144.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 459. Burnet, p. 181.

the everlasting gospel; and that he has designed, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of this people, and especially in the congregation and presbytery of Stirling." There was with him on the same scaffold, young captain Govan, whose last words were these, "I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, by synods and presbyteries. I bear witness to the solemn league and covenant, and seal it with my blood. I likewise testify against all Popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service-book, which is no better than a relic of the Romish idolatry—."* Soon after this the rights of patronages were restored, and all the Presbyterian ministers silenced, though the court had not a supply of men of any sort to fill up their vacancies.

The account that bishop Burnet gives of the old Scots Presbyterian ministers, who were possessed of the church-livings before the Restoration, is very remarkable, and deserves a place in this history. "They were (says he) a brave and solemn people; their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour, but they had an appearance that created respect; they visited their parishes much, and were so full of Scripture, and so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practise sermons; for the custom in Scotland was, after dinner or supper, to read a chapter in the Bible, and when they happened to come in, if it was acceptable, they would on a sudden expound the chapter; by this means the people had such a vast degree of knowledge, that the poor cottagers could pray extempore. Their preachers went all in one track in their sermons, of doctrine, reason, and use; and this was so methodical, that the people could follow a sermon quite through every branch of it: It can hardly be imagined to what a degree these ministers were loved and revered by their people. They kept scandalous persons under severe discipline; for breach of the sabbath, for an oath, or drunkenness, they were cited before the kirk-sessions, and solemnly rebuked for it; for fornication they stood on the stool of repentance in the church, at the time of worship, for three days, receiving admonition, and making professions of repentance, which some did with many tears, and exhortations to others to take warning by

* Burnet, p. 152, 153.

them; for adultery they sat in the same place six months covered with sackcloth. But with all this (says the bishop) they had but a narrow compass of learning, were very affected in their deportment, and were apt in their sermons to make themselves popular, by preaching against the sins of princes and courts, which the people delighted to hear, because they had no share in them.*

The bishops and clergy, who succeeded the Presbyterians, were of a quite different stamp; most of them were very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of supporting their authority through the reign of king Charles II. even with the assistance of the civil power. Bishop Burnet adds,† that they were mean and despicable in all respects; the worst preachers he ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; that they were a disgrace to their order, and to the sacred functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. The few who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

In Ireland the hierarchy was restored after the same manner as in Scotland; the king by his letters patent, in right of his power to appoint bishops to the vacant sees, issued his royal mandate to Dr. Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. Taylor bishop of Down and Connor, by virtue of which they consecrated two archbishops and ten bishops in one day.‡ His grace insisted on the reordination of those who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a bishop, but with this softening clause in their orders: "*Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos propriò judiciò relinquimus: sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesie Anglicanæ requisitum*"—i. e. "Not annihilating his former orders (if he had any) nor determining concerning their validity or invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred ordinations of foreign churches whom we leave to their

* Burnet, p. 226, 227.

† Page 229.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 440, 441.

own judge, but only supplying what was wanting according to the canons of the church of England.—” Without such an explication as this, few of the clergy of Ireland would have kept their stations in the church.* On the 17th of May, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament, assembled in Ireland, declared their opinion and high esteem of episcopal government, and of the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the church of England ; and thus the old constitution, in church as well as state, was restored in the three kingdoms.

The French ministers, who had been tools to persuade the English Presbyterians to restore the king without a treaty, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of England upon her re-establishment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of episcopacy among themselves, and to wonder that any of the English Presbyterians should scruple conformity.† The French church at the Savoy submitted to the rites and ceremonies of the English hierarchy; and M. Du Bosc, minister of Caen, writes to the minister of the Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the surplice of England, as under the robe of France.‡ So complaisant were these mercenary divines towards those who disallowed their orders, disowned their churches, and the validity of all their administrations.

Lord Clarendon and the bishops having got over the Savoy conference, and carried the service-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the present temper of the parliament to procure it the sanction of the legislature; for this purpose the king, though a Papist, is made to speak the language of a zealous churchman. In his speech to the parliament, March 1st, he has these words: “ Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the church, and very solicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expedition enough used in that affair. I thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good root of piety and devotion; but I must tell you, that I have the worst luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a Papist, while I was abroad, I am suspected of being a Presbyterian now I am come home. I know you will not take

* Kennet's Chron. p. 449.

† Ibid. p. 462.

‡ Ibid. p. 475.

it unkindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for the church of England as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides. I am as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer as you can wish, and have prejudices enough against those who do not love it; who I hope, in time, will be better informed, and change their minds. And you may be confident, I do as much desire to see a uniformity settled as any among you; and pray trust me in that affair, I promise you to hasten the dispatch of it with all convenient speed; you may rely upon me in it. I have transmitted the Book of Common Prayer with the amendments to the house of lords—but when we have done all we can, the well-settling that affair will require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation.”*

The reason of the king's requiring discretion in the parliament, and the absence of passion, was not in favour of the Presbyterians, but the Papists, who went all the lengths of the prerogative, and published a remonstrance about this time, “wherein they acknowledge his majesty to be God's vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs; that they are bound to obey him under pain of sin, and that they renounce all foreign power and authority, as incapable of absolving them from this obligation.” It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of London, and much more was understood by them, says archbishop Tenison, who have penetrated into the designs of a certain paper, commonly called the Declaration of Somerset-house; but the design miscarried, partly by their divisions among themselves, and partly by the resoluteness of the prime-minister, who charged them with principles inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom.† Father Orleans says, “There were great debates in this parliament about liberty of conscience.—The Catholic party was supported by the earl of Bristol, a man in great repute; the Protestant party by chancellor Hyde, chief of an opposite faction, and a person of no less consideration, who, putting himself at the head of the prevailing church-of-England party in that parliament, declared not only against the Roman Catholics, but against the Presbyterians, and all those the church of Eng-

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 628, folio.

† Compl. Hist. p. 252. Kennet's Chron. p. 482. 498.

land call Nonconformists. The king, who was no good Christian in his actions, but a Catholic in his heart, did all that could be expected from his easy temper, to maintain the common liberty, that so the Catholics might have a share in it; but the church of England and chancellor Hyde were so hot upon that point, that his majesty was obliged to yield rather to the chancellor's importunity than to his reason.* However, by the favour of the queen-mother, swarms of Papists came over into England, and settled about the court; they set up private seminaries for the education of youth; and though they could not obtain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the constitution and Protestant religion in the latter part of this and in the next reign.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and bishops, not content with their triumphs over the living Presbyterians, descended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of those who had been deposited in Westminster-abbey in the late times, lest their dust should one time or other mix with the loyalists; for besides the bodies of Cromwell, and others already mentioned, his majesty's warrant to the dean and chapter of Westminster was now obtained, to take up the bodies of such persons who had been unwarrantably buried in the chapel of king Henry VII. and in other chapels and places within the collegiate church of Westminster since the year 1641, and to inter them in the churchyard adjacent; by which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that had been buried there for twenty years past. Pursuant to these orders, on the 12th and 14th of September they went to work, and took up about twenty,† among whom were,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 498.

† Among the following names, the reader will find some who have not been noticed in the preceding history, or in the notes. The mother of Oliver Cromwell was by no means deserving of the malevolence and indignity with which her memory was treated. For, though she lavished the greatest fondness on her only son, she was averse to his protectorate, seldom troubled him with her advice, and with reluctance partook of the pageantry of sovereignty. She was an amiable and prudent woman: who, to make up the deficiency of a narrow income, undertook and managed the brewing trade on her own account, and from the profits of it provided fortunes for her daughters, sufficient to marry them into good families. Her anxiety for her son's safety kept her in such constant alarm, that she was discontented if she did not see him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, "My son is shot."—It ought to have softened the resentment of the royalists against Mrs. Claypole, though the daughter of Cromwell, that she had importunately interceded for the life of Dr.

The body of Eliz. Cromwell, mother of Oliver, daughter of sir Richard Stewart, who died November 18, 1654, and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel.

The body of Eliz. Claypole, daughter of Oliver, who died August 7, 1658, and was buried in a vault made for her in Henry VII.'s chapel.

The body of Robert Blake, the famous English admiral, who after his victorious fight at Santa Cruz died in Plymouth-sound, August 7, 1657, and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel :—a man, whose great services to the English nation will be an everlasting monument of his renown.

The body of the famous Mr. John Pym, a Cornish gentleman, and member of the long-parliament, who was buried in the year 1643, and attended to his grave by most of the lords and commons in parliament.

The body of Dr. Dorislaus, employed as an assistant in drawing up the charge against the king, for which he was murdered by the royalists, when he was ambassador to the states of Holland in 1649.

The body of sir William Constable, one of the king's judges, governor of Gloucester, and colonel of a regiment of foot, who died 1655.

The body of colonel Edward Popham, one of the admirals of the fleet, who died 1651.

The body of William Stroud, esq. one of the five members of parliament demanded by king Charles I.

The body of colonel Humphrey Mackworth, one of Oliver Cromwell's colonels, buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, 1654.

The body of Dennis Bond, esq. one of the council of state, who died August 8, 1658.

The body of Thomas May, esq. who compiled the his-

Hewett; and the denial of her suit had so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, and was the subject of her exclamations to her father on her dying bed.—Thomas May, esq. whose name appears in the following list, was a polite and classical scholar, the intimate friend of the greatest wits of his time, and ranked in the first class of them. He was the author of several dramatic pieces; and of two historical poems of the reigns of Henry II. and Edward III. But his principal work was a "Translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*," and a continuation of it.—Colonel, or sir John Meldrum, a scotsman, displayed his military prowess in the west, defeated the earl of Newcastle before Hull, with the assistance of sir Thomas Fairfax took the strong town of Gainsborough and the isle of Axholm, conquered the forces of the lords Byron and Molyneux, near Ormskirk, and took the town and castle of Scarborough. *Biogr. Britan.* vol. 4. p. 517. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, 4to. p. 257. *Grainger's History of England*, vol. 3. p. 94. and vol. 2. p. 265.—Ee.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 536.

tory of the long-parliament with great integrity, and in a beautiful style. He died in the year 1650.

The body of colonel John Meldrum, a Scotsman, who died in the wars.

The body of colonel Boscawen, a Cornish man.

To these may be added, several eminent Presbyterian divines; as,

The body of Dr. William Twisse, prelocutor of the assembly of divines, buried in the south cross of the Abbey-church, July 24, 1645.

The body of Mr. Stephen Marshal, buried in the south aisle, November 23, 1655.

The body of Mr. William Strong, preacher in the Abbey-church, and buried there July 4, 1654. These, with some others of lesser note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. Margaret's churchyard, near the back-door of one of the prebendaries; but the work was so indecent, and drew such a general odium on the government, that a stop was put to any farther proceedings.


Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry, were the people called Quakers, who, having declared openly against the lawfulness of making use of carnal weapons, even in self-defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing, upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and, instead of granting them relief, passed the following act* May 2, the preamble to which sets forth, "That

* Some of the society, getting early intelligence of this bill, interfered to stop its progress. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead, attended the parliament to solicit against passing it into an act: and were admitted, but without success, to offer their reasons against it, at the bar of the house. "But political considerations, party animosity, and bigoted and exasperated zeal for the church (so called), were the moving causes of action with the majority. Appeals to their reason and humanity were vain." It aggravated the injustice and severity of this act, that it was framed, notwithstanding a paper, containing the sentiments of the Quakers respecting oaths, had been lately presented to the king and council by Edward Burrough, entitled "A Just and Righteous Plea:" which stated their conscientious scruples, expressed in strong terms their loyalty, and declared, "that it had ever been with them an established principle, confirmed by a consonant practice, to enter into no plots, combinations, or rebellions, against government, nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 499, &c.—Ed.

whereas sundry persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. And whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and from the public congregations, and usual places of divine worship; be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons after the 24th of March, 1661—2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain, in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit 5*l.*; for the second 10*l.*; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: and the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair." The act was passed by commission, and had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. G. Fox, in his address to the king, acquaints his majesty, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the jails.* But these were only the beginning of sorrows.

Religion, which had been in vogue in the late times, was now universally discountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt, in a health or a play.

* Sewel, p. 346. Kennet's Chron. p. 651.

"Some were put into such noisome prisons, as were owned not  for dogs. Some prisons so crowded that the prisoners had not room to sit down altogether. In Cheshire, sixty-eight persons were thus locked up in a small room. No age or sex found any commiseration. Men of sixty, seventy, or more years of age, were, without pity or remorse, subjected to all the rigours of such imprisonments, under the infirmities of a natural decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died by such barbarous imprisonments as these." Gough, vol. 1. p. 538.—ED.

Those who observed the sabbath, and scrupled profane swearing and drinking healths, were exposed under the opprobrious names of Puritans, Fanatics, Presbyterians, Republicans, seditious persons, &c. The Presbyterian ministers were every where suspended or deprived, for some unguarded expressions in their sermons or prayers. Lord Clarendon was at the head of all this madness, and declared in parliament, "that the king could distinguish between tenderness of conscience and pride of conscience; that he was a prince of so excellent a nature, and of so tender a conscience himself, that he had the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and would never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked." Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and such the reward the Presbyterians received for their past services!

The profligate manners of the court, at the same time, spread over the whole land, and occasioned such a general licentiousness, that the king took notice of it in his speech at the end of this session of parliament. "I cannot but observe (says his majesty) that the whole nation seems to be a little corrupted in their excess of living; sure all men spend much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other expenses, than they have been used to do; I hope it has been only the excess of joy after so long suffering, that has transported us to these other excesses, but let us take heed that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our natures. I do believe I have been faulty myself; I promise you I will reform, and if you will join with me in your several capacities, we shall, by our examples, do more good both in city and country, than any new laws would do." This was a frank acknowledgment and a good resolution, but it was not in the king's nature to retrench his expenses, or control his vices, for the public good.*

* In the preceding year died, on the 22d of December, aged seventy-two years, Mr. Thomas Lushington, a scholar of eminence, and a favourer of the sentiments of Socinus; who translated into English and published, Crellius's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, and a commentary on that to the Hebrews from the Latin of the same author, or some other Unitarian writer. He published, among other works, two sermons on Matt. xxviii. 13, and Acts ii. 1, entitled, "The Resurrection rescued from the Soldiers' Calumnies." He was reckoned more ingenious than prudent, and was more apt to display his fancy than to proceed upon solid reason. At one time he personated in his sermon a Jewish Pharisee and persecutor of Christ, descanting on the whole life of our Saviour in a way suited to draw scorn and aversion on him and his attendants: he then changed his character, and speaking as a disciple of Christ he answered the cavils and invectives before thrown out with such dexterity, that his hearers broke into such loud and repeated applauses, as hindered him for a good

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time since the Reformation; and though the king had a vast dowry with his queen, whom he married this spring, yet all was not sufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for besides the king's own expenses, the queen-mother maintained a splendid court of Roman Catholics at Somerset-house, and might have done so as long as she had lived, if she could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was imprudent and profuse, that she was obliged to return to France after three or four years, where she died in the year 1669. A lady of such bigotry in religion,* and intrigue in politics, that her alliance to this nation was little less than a judgment from heaven.

To procure more ready money for these extravagances, it was resolved to sell the town of Dunkirk to the French, for 500,000*l*. The lord-chancellor Clarendon was the pro-

space from proceeding in his sermon. He was a native of Sandwich, and matriculated at Broadgate's Hall, in Oxford, when he was seventeen, in 1606—7. He graduated, as master of arts, in Lincoln-college, in 1618. In 1631, bishop Corbet gave him the prebendal stall of Bemister Secunda in the church of Salisbury; and afterward bestowed on him the rectory of Burnham Westgate, in Norfolk. In the rebellion he lost his spiritualities, but on the return of Charles II. was restored to them. He died and was buried at Sittingbourne, near Milton, in Kent. Wood's *Atque*. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 71, 72.—Ed.

In the year 1661, or soon after the Restoration, died also Mr. Henry Denne, whom we have mentioned before, vol. 3. p. 268, note. He began his ministry in the church of England, and in 1641 drew great attention by a sermon which he preached at Baldock, in Hertfordshire; in this discourse he freely exposed the sin of persecution, and inveighed against the pride and covetousness of the clergy, their pluralities and nonresidences, and the corrupt practices of the spiritual courts. He was reckoned by one, who had a great hand in the public affairs of the age, "to be the ablest man in the kingdom for prayer, expounding, and preaching." When the government declared their design to reform religion, Mr. Denne and many others were led to extend their inquiries, after religious truth, to points which before they had only taken for granted: and, it appearing to him, in his researches, that the practice of baptizing children was without any foundation in Scripture, or the writings of the Christians for the two first ages; he publicly professed himself a Baptist, and was baptized by immersion at London in 1643. This exposed him to the resentment of those who sat at the helm of ecclesiastical affairs: but notwithstanding this he obtained the parish of Elsy in Cambridgeshire. Meeting with opposition and persecution, he quitted his living and went into the army, and gained reputation in the military line. In 1658, he held a public disputation, concerning infant baptism, with Dr. Gunning, in St. Clement's church, Temple-bar; in which he is said to have afforded strong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good scholar and complete disputant. Mr. Edwards gives him the character of "a very affecting preacher." A clergyman put on his grave this epitaph:

"To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness, unto men,
I need say no more, but here lies Henry Denne."

Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 1. p. 297, &c.—Ed.

* It was the grand argument with the duke of York, for his adherence to the tenets of Popery, that his mother had, upon her last blessing, commanded him to be firm and steadfast thereof. Reresby's Memoirs, p. 16.

jector of this vile bargain,* as appears by the letters of count D'Estrades, published since his death, in one of which his lordship acknowledges, that the thought came from himself.† Several mercenary pamphlets were dispersed to justify this sale; but the wars with France, in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, have sufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal stab to our trade and commerce; insomuch, that even the queen's last ministry durst not venture to make a peace with France, till the fortifications of it were demolished.

But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was resolved to go on with the prosecution of state-criminals, and with humbling and crushing the Nonconformists: Three of the late king's judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir G. Downing, viz. colonel Okey, Corbet, and Berkstead, were brought over to England by permission of the States, and executed on the act of attainder, April 19. They died with the same resolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice against the late king, but apprehended the authority of parliament sufficient to justify their conduct.

Before the parliament rose the house addressed the king to bring colonel Lambert and sir Henry Vane, prisoners in the Tower, to their trial; and accordingly, June 4, they were arraigned at the King's Bench bar; the former for levying war against the king; and the latter for compassing his death. Lambert was convicted, but for his submissive behaviour was pardoned as to life, but confined in the isle of Guernsey, where he remained a patient prisoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir Henry Vane had such an interest in

* Dr. Grey is much displeased with Mr. Neal for imputing the sale of Dunkirk to lord Clarendon: and remarks on it, that "had the count D'Estrades declared positively that the lord Clarendon had no concern therein, it is probable that his authority would have been rejected or passed over in silence. But lord Clarendon was a great friend to monarchy and episcopacy; and therefore lord Clarendon's character must at all adventures be run down. The reader will determine concerning the candour and fairness of this censure. The passages in which D'Estrades ascribes this transaction to lord Clarendon are to be seen in Rapin, and in Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 192—198. Dr. Grey, on the other hand, refers to Kennet and Roger Coke, esq. as acquitting his lordship from advising the sale of Dunkirk. Bishop Burnet, it may be added, says, on the information of his lordship's son, "that he kept himself out of that affair entirely." To reconcile the nation to the sale of Dunkirk, the king promised to lay up all the money in the Tower, and that it should not be touched but upon extraordinary occasions. But in violation of his word and of decency, it was immediately squandered away among the creatures of his mistress, Barbara Villiers. Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. 1. p. 251.—Ed.

† Rapin, p. 630, 631.

the convention-parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majesty promised; and yet afterward, at the instigation of the present house of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir Harry made a brave defence; but it was determined to sacrifice him to the ghost of the earl of Strafford: and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refused, saying, if the king had not a greater regard for his word and honour, than he had for his life, he might take it. Nevertheless bishop Burnet says,* “He was naturally a fearful man, and had a head as dark in the notions of religion; but when he saw his death was determined, he composed himself to it with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, June 14, where a new and very indecent practice was begun; it was observed that the dying speeches of the regicides had left impressions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government; and strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. But this put him into no disorder; he desired they might be stopped, for he knew what was meant by it. Then he went to his devotion; and as he was taking leave of those about him, he happened to say something again with relation to the times, when the drums struck up a second time; so he gave over, saying, It was a sorry cause that would not bear the words of a dying man; and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought the government lost more than it gained by his death.” The Oxford historian says, he appeared on the scaffold like an old Roman, and died without the least symptoms of concern or trouble.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this spring, was the famous act of uniformity of public prayers, &c. designed for the enclosure of the church, and the only door of admission to all ecclesiastical preferments. The review of the Common Prayer had been in convocation three or four months,† and was brought into parliament, with

* Burnet, p. 237, 238.

† Dr. Grey is at a loss to understand how the act of uniformity could come into the convocation, and continue there for three or four months: for the two houses never send their bills thither for their perusal and approbation. He thinks, therefore, that

their alterations and amendments, before Christmas;* the bill was read the first time in the house of commons Jan. 14, and passed, after sundry debates, but by six voices, yeas 186, noes 180; but it met with greater obstacles among the lords, who offered several amendments, which occasioned conferences between the two houses. The lords would have exempted schoolmasters, tutors, and those who had the education of youth; and in the disabling clause, would have included only livings with cure.† But the commons being supported by the court, would abate nothing,‡ nor consent to any provision for such as should be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the surplice or cross in baptism, for fear of establishing a schism, and weakening the authority of the church, as to her right of imposing indifferent rites and ceremonies.§ And the court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the establishment, to make a general toleration more necessary. When the lords urged the king's declaration from Breda, the commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender one; but suppose this had been meant (say they), his majesty can be guilty of no breach of promise, because the declaration had these two limitations, a reference to parliament,—and so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom. May 8, the result of the conference with the house of commons, being reported to the lords, the house laid aside their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill passed; but, as bishop Burnet observes, with no great majority. May 19, it received the royal assent, and as to take place from the 24th of August following. This act being prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer, and lying open to public view, I shall only give the reader an abstract of it. It is entitled,

“An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating, bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England.”

Mr. Neal's mistake must be owing to their review of the Common Prayer. Examination, vol. 3. p. 320.—Ed.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 604.

† Ibid. p. 677.

‡ The reason for extending it to schoolmasters was, we are told, to guard against the influence and force of education. Exam. p. 321.—Ed.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 679.

The preamble sets forth, "That from the first of queen Elizabeth, there had been one uniform order of common service and prayer enjoined to be used by act of parliament, which had been very comfortable to all good people, until a great number of people in divers parts of the realm, living without knowledge and the due fear of God, did wilfully and schismatically refuse to come to their parish-churches, upon Sundays, and other days appointed to be kept as holy days. And whereas, by the scandalous neglect of ministers in using the liturgy during the late unhappy troubles, many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the decay of religion, and the hazard of many souls; therefore, for preventing the like for time to come, the king had granted a commission, to review the Book of Common Prayer, to those bishops and divines, who met at the Savoy; and afterward his majesty required the clergy in convocation to revise it again; which alterations and amendments having been approved by his majesty, and both houses of parliament; therefore, for settling the peace of the nation, for the honour of religion, and to the intent that every person may know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, it is enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, &c.

"That all and singular ministers shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other common prayers, in such order and form as is mentioned in the book; and that every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, shall before the feast of St. Bartholomew, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1662, openly and publicly, before the congregation assembled for religious worship, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things contained and prescribed in the said book in these words, and no other."

"I A. B. do declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book, entitled, 'The book of common prayer and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, together with the psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches;' and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons."*

* This form of subscription and solemn declaration was inserted by the lords, with whom this act of uniformity began.—Ed.

"The penalty for neglecting or refusing to make this declaration, is deprivation *ipso facto* of all his spiritual promotions.

"And it is farther enacted, that every dean, canon, and prebendary; all masters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors, in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital; all public professors, readers in either university, and in every college and elsewhere; and all parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers; and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school; and every person instructing youth in any private family, shall before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, subscribe the following declaration, viz.

"I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established. And I do hold, that there lies no obligation upon me, or on any other person, from the oath commonly called the solemn league and covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in church or state, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm, against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom.

"This declaration is to be subscribed by the persons above mentioned, before the archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, on pain of deprivation, for those who were possessed of livings; and for schoolmasters or tutors, three months' imprisonment for the first offence: and for every other offence, three months' imprisonment, and the forfeiture of five pounds to his majesty. Provided, that after the 25th of March 1682, the renouncing of the solemn league and covenant shall be omitted.

"It is farther enacted, that no person shall be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper, before he be ordained a priest by episcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds.*

"No form, or order of common prayer, shall be used in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship, or in

* This clause was also inserted by the lords.—Ed.

either of the universities, than is here prescribed and appointed.

"None shall be received as lecturers, or be permitted to preach, or read any sermon or lecture in any church or chapel, unless he be approved and licensed by the archbishop or bishop, and shall read the thirty-nine articles of religion, with a declaration of his unfeigned assent and consent to the same: and unless the first time he preaches any lecture or sermon, he shall openly read the Common Prayer, and declare his assent to it; and shall on the first lecture-day of every month afterward, before lecture or sermon, read the Common Prayer and service, under pain of being disabled to preach; and if he preach while so disabled, to suffer three months' imprisonment for every offence.

"The several laws and statutes formerly made for uniformity of prayer, &c. shall be in force for confirming the present Book of Common Prayer, and shall be applied for punishing all offences contrary to the said laws, with relation to the said book, and no other.

"A true printed copy of the said book is to be provided in every parish-church, chapel, college, and hall, at the cost and charge of the parishioners or society, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, on pain of forfeiting three pounds a month for so long as they shall be unprovided of it."*

It was certainly unreasonable in the legislature to limit the time of subscription to so short a period,† it being next

* "The act of uniformity and the corporation-act (Mr. Gough observes) did not in themselves materially affect the Quakers, who aspired to no places of honour or profit, and who testified against preaching for hire, and sought for no more than a toleration and protection in their religious and civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;" yet the corporation-act in its consequences did affect them, by filling the city and country with persecuting magistrates. *History of the Quakers*, vol. 1. p. 469.—Ed.

† Dr. Grey argues that this objection is taken off by a clause, exempting from the penalties of the act those who were prevented subscribing within the limited time by some lawful impediment allowed and approved by the ordinary of the place, and complying with its requisition within a month after such impediment was removed; and the doctor adds, that, in pursuance of this clause, Dr. Laney, the bishop of Peterborough, dispensed with the dean and chapter of that church. He farther alleges a public advertisement given in London, 6th of August 1662, declaring that the Book of Common Prayer was then perfectly and exactly printed, and books in folio were provided for all churches and chapels in the kingdom; which left a space of eighteen days for conveying them through the country. But the doctor did not calculate, how many of these days would be run out before this notice had circulated through the nation, and had reached the remoter parts and country parishes lying at a distance from the great post-roads. Bishop Burnet says, "the vast number of copies, being many thousands, that were to be wrought off for all the parish-churches of England, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few books set out to sale when the day came." Burnet, vol. 1. p. 269. *Examination*, vol. 1. p. 420—423; and vol. 3. p. 322, 323.—Ed.

to impossible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom should read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain copies before August 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the feast of St. Bartholomew; so that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the service in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourse to the favour of their ordinary to dispense with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act of the 15th of Charles II. cap. 6, entitled, "An act for the relief of such as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration of the act of uniformity;" which says, that those who did not subscribe within the time limited were utterly disabled, and *ipso facto*, deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the case at Peterborough, what must be the condition of the clergy in the more northern counties? in fact, there was not one divine in ten, that lived at any considerable distance from London, who did peruse it within that time; but the matter was driven on with so much precipitancy, says bishop Burnet,* that it seems implied, that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen; and this was done by too many, as by the bishops themselves confessed.

The terms of conformity now were,

(1.) Reordination, if they had not been episcopally ordained before.

(2.) A declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in "The book of common prayer, and administration of sacraments; and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the psalter," and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons.

(3.) To take the oath of canonical obedience.

(4.) To abjure the solemn league and covenant, which many conscientious ministers could not disentangle themselves from.

(5.) To abjure the lawfulness of taking arms against

* Page 269.

the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretences whatsoever.

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars; and the Common Prayer-book more exceptionable; for, instead of striking out the Apocryphal lessons, more were inserted, as the story of Bel and the Dragon; and some new holidays were added, as St. Barnabas, and the conversion of St. Paul; a few alterations and new collects were made by the bishops themselves, but care was taken, says Burnet,* that nothing should be altered, as was moved by the Presbyterians.—The validity of Presbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the ministrations of the foreign churches were disowned.—Lecturers and schoolmasters were put upon the same foot with incumbents as to oaths and subscriptions.—A new declaration was invented, which none who understood the constitution of England could safely subscribe—and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no settled provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings, but all were referred to the royal clemency.†—A severity, says bishop Burnet, neither practised by queen Elizabeth in enacting the liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the Royalists; in both which a fifth of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence.

Mr. Rapin has several remarks on this act: if we compare it with the king's declaration from Breda, says he,‡ it will easily be seen what care the ministers about the king, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had for his honour and promise; though some therefore may look upon this act as the great support and bulwark of the church, others, no less attached to its interests, will perhaps look upon it as her disgrace and scandal.—His second remark is, for the reader to take notice of the amount of the promises made to the Presbyterians by the king's party, upon the assurance of which they had so cheerfully laboured for

* Page 267.

† This was done by a proviso, drawn up by the lords, "that such persons as have been put out of their livings, by virtue of the act of uniformity, may have such allowances out of their livings for their subsistence as his majesty shall think fit." Grey's Examination, vol. 1. p. 423. A feeble, inefficient proviso, permitting the king to be kind, but leaving it to his option to be unjust and cruel; tantalizing distress, rather than relieving it.—Ed.

‡ Vol. 2. p. 629, folio.

his restoration, and followed the directions transmitted by his friends.—His third remark is, that by an artifice, the most gross conspiracies were invented, which had no manner of reality; or supposing they had, could no ways be charged on the Presbyterians, who were not to answer for the crimes of other sects.

On the other hand, bishop Kennet says,* “The world has reason to admire, not only the wisdom of this act, but even the moderation of it, as being effectually made for ministerial conformity alone, and leaving the people unable to complain of any imposition. And it would certainly have had the desired and most happy effect, of unity and peace, (says his lordship) if the government had been in earnest in the execution of it.” Must the blessings of unity and peace then be built on the foundation of persecution, plunder, perfidy, and the wastes of conscience? If his majesty’s declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs breathed the spirit of true wisdom and charity, and ought to stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed to heal the breaches of the church, as the bishop has elsewhere declared,† where could be the wisdom and moderation of this act, which turned out two thousand ministers into the world to beg their bread upon such severe terms? And whereas the bishop says, the people had no reason to complain of imposition, was it no hardship to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worship that went against their consciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of queen Elizabeth and king James, in these words, “Be it farther enacted, that the several good laws and statutes of this realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force for the uniformity of prayers and administration of the sacraments within this realm of England, and places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and shall be applied, practised, and be put in use, for the punishing all offences contrary to the said law.” Surely this must affect the laity! it is more to be admired, in my opinion, that the clergy of England, and all officers both civil and military, could subscribe a declaration which gave up the whole constitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the king had abolished the use

* The references are, I apprehend, to the bishop’s Complete History. There is a passage correspondent to the first in the Chronicle, p. 712.—Ed.

† Kennet’s Chron. p. 246.

of parliaments, and commanded his subjects to embrace the Popish religion, which way could they have relieved themselves, when they had sworn, that it was not lawful to take up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of high-treason? It is hard to reconcile this doctrine with the revolution of king William and queen Mary. I shall only add, that many of the most learned and judicious divines of the church have wished, for their own sakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

Mr. Collyer, a nonjuring clergyman who suffered for his principles, speaks more like a gentleman and a Christian than the bishop: "The misfortune of the Presbyterians (says he) cannot be remembered without regret; those who quit their interest are certainly in earnest, and deserve a charitable construction. Mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved."

It is fit the authors and promoters of this memorable act, which broke the peace of the church, and established a separation, should stand upon record. Among these the earl of Clarendon deserves the first place, who was once for moderate measures, but afterward altered his conduct, says bishop Burnet,* out of respect to the bishops. "The rhetoric and interest of this great minister (says Collyer†) might possibly make an impression upon both houses, and occasion the passing the act of uniformity in the condition it now stands." He entertained the Presbyterians with hopes, while he was cutting away the ground from under their feet. Strange! that one and the same hand could; consistently with conscience and honour, draw up the king's declaration from Breda, and his late declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and this severe act of uniformity.

Next to chancellor Hyde was Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, of whom notice has been already taken; he was a facetious man, says Burnet,‡ but of no great religion. When the earl of Manchester told the king, he was afraid the terms of conformity were so hard that many ministers would not comply; the bishop replied, he was afraid they would, but now we know their minds, says he, we will make them all

* Page 270.

† Page 88.

‡ Page 257.

knaves if they conform. And when Dr. Allen said, "It is pity the door is so strait;" he answered, "It is no pity at all; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter."* And Mr. Baxter adds, that as far as he could perceive, it was by some designed it should be so.

Next to bishop Sheldon was bishop Morley, a pious man, says Burnet, but extremely passionate and very obstinate. Morley was thought the honestest man, but Sheldon the abler statesman. To these may be added, Dr. Gunning bishop of Ely; Henchman of London; Dolbert of Rochester; Stern of York; Dr. Pierce, Sparrow, and Barwick; all creatures of the court, and tools of the prerogative.

But neither the courtiers nor bishops could have accomplished their designs without tampering with the parliament. Care was therefore taken of the best speakers, and men of influence among the commons. The parliament was undoubtedly acted by a spirit of revenge, says Rapin,† and being of principles directly opposite to the Presbyterians, who were for reducing the royal power within certain limits, they resolved to put it out of their power for ever to restrain the prerogative, or alter the government of the church; and the king, being in continual want of money, was content to sacrifice the Presbyterians for a large supply of the nation's money, especially when he knew he was serving the cause of Popery at the same time, by making way for a general toleration.

The Presbyterian ministers had only three months to consider what to do with themselves, and their families. There were several consultations both in city and country to know each other's sentiments; and it happened here, as it did afterward about taking the oaths to king William and queen Mary; some, who persuaded their brethren to dissent, complied themselves and got the others' livings,

* It reflects some honour on the name of bishop Saunderson that he spoke of this act in a milder strain. To a worthy clergyman, who was with him the evening after the king passed it, he said, "that more was imposed on ministers than he wished had been." On passing the act he sent for Mr. Matthew Sylvester, whose living was in his diocese, and treating him with great civility, earnestly pressed him not to quit his living, and patiently heard him state his difficulties: and when he found, that he could not obviate them to his satisfaction, he lamented it, and at last signified a concern, that some things were carried so high in the ecclesiastical settlement; which, he said, should not have been if he could have prevented it. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. 2. p. 111. MS.; and Church and Dissenters Compared, p. 81.—Ed.

† Page 632, &c.

It is not to be supposed they had all the same scruples.— Bishop Kennet says,* that renouncing the covenant was the greatest obstacle of conformity to the Presbyterians. But his lordship is mistaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the corporation-oath. Some could not in conscience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers scrupled the business of reordination, which implied a renouncing the validity of their former ministrations. But that which the dissenters of all denominations refused, was giving their assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human composition.

Mr. Echard represents them as under great difficulties; “Some (says he) were positive against any compliance, but great numbers were doubtful and uncertain, and had great struggles between the attractions of conscience and honour, interest and humour. The act was strictly penned, and pressed hard upon late principles and practices. A continual intercourse of letters passed between those in the city, and the rest in the countries, how to proceed in this nice affair. Sometimes the chief of them were for compliance, as I have been assured (says he) by the best hands, and then upon farther consideration they changed their minds. They were under considerable temptations on both sides; on one side their livings and preferments were no small inducement towards their compliance; on the other side, besides their consciences, they were much encouraged by the greatness of their numbers, and were made to believe, that if they unanimously stood out, the church must come to them, since the people would never bear so shocking a change.— Besides, they had great expectations from several friends at court, and particularly the Popish party, who gave them great encouragement, not only by a promise of pensions to some, but also by a toleration, and a suspension of the act itself, which not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the noncompliance of several proceeded purely from a tender conscience, and in that case ought not only to be pitied, but rather applauded than condemned.” Bishop Burnet adds, that the leaders of the Presbyterian party took great pains to have them all stick together: they

said, that if great numbers stood out it was more likely to produce new laws in their favour; so it was thought, says his lordship, that many went out in the crowd to keep their friends company.

It is possible some noblemen, and others who were in the interest of the Presbyterians, might advise them to adhere to each other; but it is hardly credible, that men of abilities and good sense should throw up their livings, sacrifice their usefulness, and beggar their families, for the sake of good company.

Some of the Nonconformists quitted their stations in the church before the 24th of August, as Mr. Baxter and others, with an intent to let all the ministers in England know their resolution beforehand.* Others about London preached their farewell sermons the Sunday before Bartholomew-day; several of which were afterward collected into a volume, and printed with their effigies in the title-page; as the reverend Dr. Manton, Bates, Jacomb, Calamy, Matth. Mead, and others. The like was done in several counties of England; and such a passionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their sermons as dissolved their audiences into tears.

At length the fatal St. Bartholomew came, when about two thousand relinquished their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity: an example hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world! It raised a grievous cry over the nation, for here were many men much valued, says bishop Burnet,† and distinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by such spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices, which both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worship. This begot esteem, and raised compassion, as having a fair appearance of suffering persecution for conscience. Mr. Locke calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they cast out because there was a supply of ministers to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 384.

† Page 270. 390.

At the reformation from Popery by queen Elizabeth, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings; besides, they were treated with great mildness, and had some allowances out of their livings; whereas these were treated with the utmost severity, and cast entirely upon Providence for a supply. They were driven from their houses, from the society of their friends; and, what was yet more affecting, from all their usefulness, though they had merited much from the king, and laboured indefatigably for his restoration. The former were men of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church; whereas these were of the same faith with the established church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It had been said, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant;* but if this were true, it was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the king and parliament were so intermixed, that it was impossible to separate one from the other; the whole nation was in confusion, and those who suffered by the covenant, suffered more for their loyalty than their religion; for when the war was ended, the covenant was relaxed, and such as would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

Besides, the ingratitude of the high-churchmen upon this occasion ought to be taken notice of. "Who can answer for the violence and injustice of actions in a civil war? (says a divine of the church of England.) Those sufferings were in a time of general calamity, but these were ejected not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after an act of oblivion, when all pretended to be re-

* Dr. Grey asserts this: and there was a laboured attempt by Dr. Walker to prove, that the clergy, ejected or suffering in the civil wars, exceeded in numbers those whom the act of uniformity ejected or silenced; and that the sufferings of the former surpassed in nature and severity those of the latter. The publication, which endeavoured to establish these points, was a folio, in small print, entitled, "An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the church of England, heads of colleges, fellows, scholars, &c. who were sequestered, harassed, &c. in the late times of the grand rebellion: occasioned by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter; together with an examination of that chapter." The public was at first amused with so large a work, but by degrees began to speak freely of it in conversation, where it had the fate of other performances. It received from the press two able replies: one by Mr. John Withers, a judicious and worthy dissenting minister in Exeter; the other by Dr. Calamy, in a tract entitled, "The Church and Dissenters Compared as to Persecution." On this subject we would refer the reader back to Mr. Neal, vol. 3. p. 113.—ED.

conciled and made friends, and to whose common rejoicings these suffering ministers had contributed their earnest prayers and great endeavours."* Another divine of the same church writes, "I must own, that in my judgment, however both sides have been excessively to blame; yet that the severities used by the church to the dissenters are less excusable than those used by the dissenters to the church. My reason is, that the former were used in times of peace and a settled government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion; so that the plunderings and ravagings endured by the church-ministers, were owing (many of them at least) to the rudeness of the soldiers, and the chances of war; they were plundered, not because they were conformists, but cavaliers, and of the king's party. The allowing of the sequestered ministers a fifth part of their livings was a Christian act,† and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen imitated at the Restoration. But no mercy was to be shewn to these unhappy sufferers, though it was impossible on a sudden to fill up the gap that was made by their removal."

Bishop Burnet says, the old clergy, now much enriched, were despised, but the young clergy who came from the university did good service. But though all the striplings in both universities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a considerable time. The author of *The Five Groans of the Church*, a very strict conformist, complains with great warmth of above three thousand ministers admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thousand three hundred forty-two factious ministers, a little before ordained; and that of

* Conf. Plea for Nonconformity, p. 12, 13.

† Dr. Grey quotes here, from Dr. Fuller; (*Church Hist.* book 11. p. 230.) a long detail of the evasions on which many of the sequestered clergy were refused their stipes. Dr. Walker has also complained, that scarcely one in ten ever had them without trouble, and to the full value. "This is a case in which (as Dr. Calamy observes) it is no easy thing to make calculation." Supposing it to have been paid over so indifferently, it was certainly a better provision than was made by the act of uniformity for those who were ejected and silenced. It afforded the sufferers, to a degree, a legal remedy for their calamities: and would doubtless, in many instances, be efficient. Dr. Fuller speaks of it as an instance of "the pitiful and pious intentions of parliament; which, no doubt, desired to be like the best of beings, who as closely applieth his lenitive as corrosive plasters, and that his mercy may take as true effect as his justice." But this matter has been before stated by Mr. Neal, vol. 3. p. 118.—Ed.

twelve thousand church-livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being improprieate, and four thousand one hundred sixty-five sinecures, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry.

Such were the spoils of uniformity! and though Mr. Echard says, there was more sense and sound doctrine preached in one twelvemonth after the Presbyterian ministers were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another church-writer, who knew them better, calls the young clergy "florid and genteel preachers, of a more romantic than true majestic and divine style, who tickled and captivated people at first, but did little service to the souls of men, and in process of time had fewer admirers and friends than at first. He adds, that in the late times they all spake the same things, and carried on the same work, which was the instruction, conversion, consolation, and edification, of souls; not biting one another, nor grudging at one another. I never heard (says he) in many hundreds of sermons, diversities of opinions either set up by some, or pulled down by others; we heard indeed that some were Independents, others Presbyterians, and others Episcopal, but we heard no such things from the pulpits. Some men think that the preaching of those days was mere fanaticism, blessing the usurpation, railing against bishops, or deifying Calvin with an infallibility; but Calvin was preached no farther than Christ spake in him; 'Non Calvinum sed Christum prædicabant.'"^{*}

The truth of this observation will appear farther, by mentioning the names of some of those ministers, whose learning and piety were universally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good sense, and to as good purpose, as most of their successors; as Dr. Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Collins, Cozant, Grew, Burgess, and Annesly; Mr. Bowles, Baxter, Clarkson, Woodbridge, Newcomen, Calamy, Jackson, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Gale, Corbet, Craddock, Matth. Mead, Howe, Kentish, Alsop, Vincent, Greenhill, S. Clark, Flavel, Phil. Henry, and others of like character, "whom I have heard vilified, and represented according to the fancies, passions, or interests, of men (says a learned conformist), but I dare not but be just to them, as to

^{*} Conformist Plea, part 1. in pref. and p. 53.

eminent professors of the Christian faith, and think that common Christianity has suffered much by their silencing and disparagement. A great part of the world is made to believe, that the Nonconformists are not fit to be employed in the church, nor trusted by the state; but what they are God knows, and the world may know, if they please to consult their writings—They are not to them that know them; what they are reported by them that know them not—I know them sufficiently to make me bewail their condition, and the vast damage to thousands of souls by their exclusion, not only in the outskirts, but in the very heart of England, who are committed in many parts to them that neither can nor will promote their everlasting interests.”* Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected ministers were equally learned, pious,† and deserving, yet upon a calm and sedate view of things I cannot help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as eminent confessors for truth and liberty as this or any other nation has produced.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not because they approved them, but for the sake of their families, or because they were unwilling to be buried in silence, as bishop Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, Fowler, &c. Several young students, who were designed for the pulpit, applied themselves to law or physic, or diverted to some secular employment. Bishop Kennet, in order to extenuate their calamities,‡ has taken pains to point out the favours the ejected ministers received from private persons:§ Some (says he) found friends among the nobility and gentry, who relieved their necessities; some were taken as chaplains into good families, or officiated in hospitals, prisons, or chapels of ease; some became tutors, or schoolmasters; some who went beyond sea were well received in foreign

* Conform. Plea, in pref. part 1.

† To suppose that more than two thousand men could be equal in worth and piety, would be to admit an impossibility; but it deserves notice, that bishop Kennet is so candid as to limit the charge of scandalous lives and characters, or of a conduct which was at least no credit to the cause for which they suffered, to some few only. Grey's Examination, p. 332.—Ed.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 888, &c.

§ Dr. Grey has given this passage of bishop Kennet at length, which Mr. Neal has here noticed. But the amount of the bishop's statement, which runs out into thirty-one particulars, only shews, that some men were more equitable and kind than was the legislature; and that they who suffered under the operation of an iniquitous law, met with relief from the kind disposals of Divine Providence.—Ed.

parts; some became eminent physicians and lawyers; some had good estates of their own, and others married great fortunes: but how does this extenuate the guilt of the church or legislature, who would have deprived them of these retreats if it had been in their power? The bishop adds, "Therefore we do ill to charge the church with persecution, when the laws were made by the civil government with a view to the peace and safety of the state, rather than to any honour or interest of the church." It seems therefore the load of persecution must lie wholly upon the legislature: but had the bishops and clergy no hand in this affair? did they not push the civil government upon these extremities, and not only concur, but prosecute, the penal laws with unrelenting rigour throughout the greatest part of this reign? The church and state are said to be so incorporated as to make but one constitution, and the penal laws are shifted from one to the other till they are quite lost; the church cannot be charged with persecution, because it makes no laws; nor can the civil government be charged with it, because it makes them *not* against conscience, but with a view to the safety of the state; with such idle sophisms are men to be amused, when it is to cover a reproach!

Dr. Bates says, "they (the ministers) fell a sacrifice to the wrath and revenge of the old clergy, and to the servile compliance of the young gentry with the court, and their distaste of serious religion.* That this is no rash imputation upon the ruling clergy is evident (says the doctor), not only from their concurrence in passing these laws (for actions have a language as convincing as those of words), but from Dr. Sheldon, their great leader, who expressed his fears to the earl of Manchester, lest the Presbyterians should comply. The act was passed after the king had engaged his faith and honour in his declaration from Breda to preserve liberty of conscience inviolable; which promise opened the way for his restoration; and after the royalists had given public assurance, that all former animosities should be laid aside as rubbish, under the foundation of universal concord."

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these unhappy sufferers, who with their families must have perished, if private collections in London, and divers places

* Baxter, p. 101.

of the country, had not been made for their subsistence.* Bishop Burnet says, they cast themselves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The reverend and pious Mr. Thomas Gouge, late of St. Sepulchre's, was their advocate, who with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to several worthy citizens, of whom they received considerable sums of money for some years, till that charity was diverted into another channel; but nevertheless "many hundreds of them (according to Mr. Baxter†) with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread;‡ the people they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they if they had been able, because it would have been called a maintenance of schism or faction. Many of the ministers, being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into jails, where many of them perished.—The people were no less divided, some conformed, and others were driven to a greater distance from the church, and resolved to abide by their faithful pastors at all events: they murmured at the government, and called the bishops and conforming clergy cruel persecutors; for which, and for their frequenting the private assemblies of their ministers, they were fined and imprisoned, till many families left their native country, and settled in the plantations."

The Presbyterian ministers, though men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious names of Schismatics and Fanatics; they were exposed in the playhouse, and insulted by the mob, inso-much that they were obliged to lay aside their habits, and walk in disguise. "Such magistrates were put into commission as executed the penal laws with severity. Informers were encouraged and rewarded. It is impossible (says the Conformist Plea for the Nonconformist§) to relate the number of the sufferings both of ministers and people; the great

* Kennet's Chron. p. 838. 192.

† Life, part 2. p. 385.

‡ The observation made, not long before he died, by the excellent Mr. Philip Henry, who survived these times, deserves to be mentioned here. It was, that "though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them; yet in all his acquaintance he never knew nor could remember to have heard of any Nonconformist minister in prison for debt." P. Henry's Life, p. 74, second edition.—Ed.

§ Part 4. p. 40.

trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journeys, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death; great disquietments and frights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. Their congregations had enough to do besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live: some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but 8 or 10*l.* a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plough six days and preached on the Lord's day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous justices of peace knew the calamities of the ministers, when they issued out warrants upon some of the hearers, because of the poverty of the preachers. Out of respect to the worth and modesty of some of them (says my author*) I forbear their names." Upon these foundations, and with these triumphs, was the present constitution of the church of England restored. I shall make no farther remarks upon it, but leave it to the censure of the reader.

Among the Presbyterian divines who died this year, was Mr. John Ley, M. A. born at Warwick, February 4, 1583, and educated in Christ-church, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was presented to the living of Great-Budworth in Cheshire. He was afterward prebendary of Chester, and subdean, and clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641, he took part with the parliament, was one of the assembly of divines, chairman of the committee for examination of ministers, and president of Sion-college. In the year 1645, he succeeded Dr. Hyde in the rich parsonage of Brightwell, Berks. In 1653, he was one of the triers, and at length obtained the rectory of Solihull in Warwickshire, but having broken a vein by overstraining himself in speaking, he resigned his living, and retired to Sutton-Colfield, where he died, May 16, 1662, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was a very learned person, well read in the fathers and councils, a popular preacher, a

* Conformist Plea, part 4. p. 43.

pious and devout Christian, and one of the main pillars (says Mr. Wood*) of the Presbyterian cause.

Mr. Henry Jeanes, M. A. was born in Somersetshire about the year 1611, and educated in New-inn, and afterward in Hart-hall, Oxon, where he took the degrees in arts, and entered into holy orders. He was an admired preacher in the university, and was quickly preferred to the rectory of Beercrocomb, and the vicarage of Kingston in Somersetshire. In the year 1641, he closed with the parliament, and became rector of Chedsoy near Bridgwater. Here he took into his family several young persons, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences; he was a most excellent philosopher, a noted metaphysician, and well versed in polemical divinity. With all these qualifications (says Mr. Wood†) he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty, and facetious. He wrote many books, and died in the city of Wells a little before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried in the cathedral church there, ætatis fifty-two.

Dr. Humphrey Chambers was born in Somersetshire, and educated in University college, Oxon. In the year 1623, he was made rector of Claverton in Somersetshire, but was afterward silenced by his diocesan, bishop Piers, for preaching up the morality of the sabbath, and imprisoned for two years. He was one of the assembly of divines. In the year 1648, he was created D.D. and had the rich rectory of Pewsey given him by the earl of Pembroke. After the king's restoration he kept his living till the very day the act of uniformity took place, when having preached his farewell sermon on Psal. cxxvi. 6, he went home, fell sick and died; and was buried in his church at Pewsey, September 8, without the service of the church, which had just then taken place.‡

Mr. Simeon Ash was educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge. His first station in the church was in Staffordshire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the most eminent Puritans. He was displaced from his living for refusing to read the book of sports, and not conforming to the ceremonies. After some time he got liberty to preach in an exempt church at Wroxhall, under the protection of sir John Bur-

* Athen. Oxon. vol. 2, p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 195.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 756; or Palmer's Nonconform. Memorial, vol. 2. p. 509.

goign ; and elsewhere, under the lord Brook, in Warwickshire. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of Manchester, and had a considerable part in the Cambridge visitation. After the king's death he vigorously opposed the new commonwealth, and declaimed publicly against the engagement. He was concerned in all the designs for bringing in the king, and went with other London divines to congratulate his majesty at Breda. He was a Christian of primitive simplicity, and a Nonconformist of the old stamp, being eminently sincere, charitable, holy, and of a cheerful spirit. He had a good paternal estate, and was very hospitable, his house being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly esteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before Bartholomew-day, in a cheerful and firm expectation of a future happiness.*

Mr. Edward Bowles, M. A. born 1613, and educated in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, under Dr. Sibbes, and Dr. Brownrigge. He was first chaplain to the earl of Manchester, and upon the reduction of York to the parliament settled in that city. He was a wise and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart ; an excellent scholar, and a useful preacher. He attended lord Fairfax when general Monk passed through Yorkshire, and presented an address to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the king's restoration, and waited on his majesty with lord Fairfax at Breda. It is credibly reported that the deanery of York was offered him, but not being satisfied with conformity, he was excluded the minster, though he continued preaching at Allhallows, and afterward at St. Martin's, as he had opportunity.† When the fatal Bartholomew-day approached he grew sick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty-nine, and was buried on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1662.

[In the preceding year there passed an act for regulating the press, enacting " that no private person or persons should print, or cause to be printed, any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same was first lawfully licensed and authorized to be printed by certain persons appointed by the act to license the same ; viz. law-books by the lord-

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 1 ; or, Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 1. p. 85.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 779—782 ; or, *ibid.* vol. 2. p. 580.

chancellor, or one of the chief-justices, or by the chief baron: books of history, or concerning state-affairs, by one of the principal secretaries of state; on heraldry, by the earl-marshal; and all other books, i. e. to say all novels, romances, and fairy tales, and all books about philosophy, mathematics, physic, divinity, or love, by the lord-archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London for the time being." "The framers of this curious act (observes lord Stanhope), no doubt, supposing that these right reverend prelates were, of all men in the kingdom, most conversant with all these subjects." This act commenced in June 1662, and passed only for two years. It was continued by an act of the 16th of Charles II. and by another act of the 17th of the same reign; and in a few months afterward it expired. We may form some idea of the private instructions given to the licenser, as well as of his excessive caution and ignorant zeal, when we are assured, that on his taking exception to the following lines in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that admirable poem had like to have been suppressed.

"As when the sun, new risen,
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nation, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchies."

Stanhope on the Rights of Juries, p. 64, &c. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 441, note; and Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 263—274,—Ed.]

CHAP. VII.

FROM THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY TO THE BANISHMENT OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON IN THE YEAR 1667.

1662.

At this time, says bishop Burnet, the name of Puritans was changed into that of Protestant Nonconformists, who were subdivided into Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers; these being shut out of the establishment, had

nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous Presbyterians said they had strong assurances of, before the act of uniformity passed into a law; but in this they were disappointed, as well as in every thing else; for which the Independents told them they might thank themselves, because their managers had protested against including the Papists; whereas the legislature and the bishops were concerned to prevent any mischief from that quarter, and to their care the Presbyterians should have left it.* Some observing how much the court and parliament were set against them, were for removing with their ministers to Holland; and others proposed New-England; but the Papists, at a meeting of the earl of Bristol's house, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the Nonconformists in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

The king was a concealed Roman Catholic, and had swarms of that persuasion about his person and court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their design was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other dissenters from the establishment; and the king was so far in their measures, that he declared openly he would give liberty to all or none. The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity should pass in the severest terms, on purpose to make the number of dissenters more considerable; and when this was objected, it was replied, the more dissenters the better, because it will make a toleration more needful, in which the Papists will be included.† The Papists had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, to keep themselves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general prosecution. The other, to divide the Protestants as much as possible among themselves. For this reason the sword was put into the hands of such magistrates as would inflame the differences, and exasperate their spirits one against the other. Nor were there wanting some hot-headed young clergymen, who ran greedily into the snare, and became the tools of Popery and arbitrary power, till the Protestant religion was expiring, and must inevitably have been lost, had it not been revived almost by a miracle. With a like view the laws against profaneness and immorality were relaxed, men's morals were neglected, inter-

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 282.

† Ibid. vol. 1. p. 283.

ludes, masquerades, promiscuous dancing, profane swearing, drunkenness, and a universal dissolution of manners, were connived at, and the very name of godliness became a reproach.

The parliament, being made up of a set of pensioners and mercenaries, went into all the court-measures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than it may be all the parliaments put together since the Reformation. They pressed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigour, and enforced it with so many other penal laws, that under their wing Popery grew to such a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the northern heresy. At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the spoils of the public, they would have retrieved their errors, and distinguished between Protestant Nonconformists and Popish recusants, but it was too late; and the king having found ways and means to subsist without parliaments, resolved to adhere by his standing maxim, to give ease to all dissenters or to none.

It is impossible to excuse the clergy from their share in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the satisfaction of the Presbyterians, they would undoubtedly have passed both houses of parliament, and healed in some measure the divisions of the church; but they were actuated by a spirit of revenge, and not only promoted such laws as might deprive the Presbyterians of the power of hurting them for the future; but assisted in putting them in execution. None had a greater share in inflaming the minds of the people, and in sounding the trumpet to persecution. But here the reader must distinguish between those zealots, who, from resentment, bigotry, or sinister views, set themselves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppression and tyranny; and those, who, though they complied with the terms of conformity themselves, were disposed to an accommodation with the Protestant Nonconformists upon moderate terms.

The bishops were generally of the former sort; they were old and exasperated, fond of their persecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the Presbyterians. They went with zeal into all the slavish doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing

they required. But even some of these bishops, who at first were very zealous to throw the Presbyterians out of the church, afterward grew more temperate. Dr. Laney, bishop of Peterborough, who made a great bustle in the Savoy conference, was willing at length to wipe his hands of the dirty work, and, to use his own expression, could look through his fingers, and suffer a worthy Nonconformist to preach publicly near him for years together.—Bishop Saunderson had a roll of Nonconformist ministers under his angry eye, designed for discipline, but when he was near his end, he ordered the roll to be burnt, and said he would die in peace.—And most remarkable is the passage in the last will and testament of Dr. Cosins, bishop of Durham, a zealous enemy of the Presbyterians, and who had met with ill usage in the late times.—“I take it to be my duty (says he), and that of all the bishops and ministers of the church, to do our utmost endeavour, that at last an end may be put to the differences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened.” Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed. To these may be added bishop Gauden, Wilkins, Reynolds, and a few others, who were always moderate, and are said to carry the wounds of the church in their hearts to the grave; but the far greater majority of the bench, especially those who frequented the court, were of different principles.

The like may be observed of the inferior clergy, who were divided, a few years after, into those of the court and the country; the former were of an angry superstitious spirit, and far more strenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles; their sermons were filled with reverence due to their holy mother, with the sacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, and with the most bitter raillery and invectives against the routed Presbyterians; they encouraged the enacting severe laws, and carried them into execution as long as their superiors would permit, without any regard to mercy or merit; but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were shamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more

numerous for twenty years after the Restoration; the tide of church-preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the most fashionable.

The country-clergy were of a quite different spirit; they were determined Protestants and true churchmen, but more disposed to a coalition with Protestant dissenters than with Papists: among these were the Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, Whichcotes, Wilkins, Cudworths, &c. men of the first rank for learning, sobriety, and virtue; they were the most eminent preachers of the age, whose sermons and writings did honour to the church of England, and supported its character in the worst of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and stood in the gap against an inundation of Popery and tyranny; but their numbers were small, because the road to preferment lay another way; and when the high-church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cause of the Protestant religion, into the hands of the Papists, these appeared boldly in their defence, disarmed their adversaries, and saved the nation.

When therefore we speak of the furious proceedings of the bishops and clergy, it must not be understood of the whole body, but only of those who were tools of a corrupt court and ministry, and who, out of ignorance or other private and personal motives, went blindfold into all their destructive measures.

Bishop Burnet, in his book against the author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable passage: "It is well known, that those who were secretly Papists, and disguised their religion, as the king himself did, animated the chief men of the church to carry the points of uniformity as high as possible.—That there might be many Nonconformists, and great occasion for a toleration, under which Popery might creep in; for if the king's declaration from Breda had taken place, of two thousand ministers that were turned out, about seventeen hundred had stayed in; but the practice of the Papists had too great an influence on the churchmen, whose spirits were too much soured by their ill usage during the war; nor were they without success on the dissenters, who were secretly encouraged to stand out, and were told, that the king's temper and principles, and the consideration of trade, would certainly procure them a toleration. Thus they tampered with both

parties: liberty of conscience was their profession; but when a session of parliament came, and the king wanted money, then a new severe law against the dissenters was offered to the angry men of the church-party as the price of it; and this seldom failed to have its effect: so that they were like the jewels of the crown, pawned when the king needed money, but redeemed at the next prorogation."

The same prelate observes in another performance, "that the first spirit of severity was heightened by the practices of the Papists. That many churchmen, who understood not the principles of human society, and the rules of the English government, wrote several extravagant treatises about the measures of submission; that the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England." But concludes, that "he must have the brow of a Jesuit that can cast this wholly upon the church of England, and free the court of it. Upon the whole matter (says his lordship) it is evident, that the passions and infirmities of some of the church of England being unhappily stirred up by the dissenters, they were fatally conducted by the Popish party to be the instruments of doing a great deal of mischief."

But to go on with the history: three days after the act of uniformity took place, the silenced ministers presented a petition to his majesty for a toleration, by the hands of Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and Mr. Calamy, to this effect; "that having had former experience of his majesty's clemency and indulgence, some of the London ministers, who are like to be deprived of all future usefulness by the late act of uniformity, humbly cast themselves at his majesty's feet, desiring him of his princely wisdom to take some effectual course, that they may be continued in their ministry, to teach his people obedience to God and his majesty; and they doubt not, but by their dutiful and peaceable behaviour, they shall render themselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour."* The matter being debated next day in council, his majesty gave his opinion for an indulgence if it was feasible. Others were for conniving at the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their churches to read the service till they should die off:† this was the opinion of the earl of Manchester, who urged it with a great deal of earnestness; but lord Clarendon was

* Kennet's Chron. p. 753.

† Ibid. p. 730. 742.

for the strict execution of the law: "Surely (says he) there cannot be too intent a care in kings and princes to preserve and maintain all decent forms and ceremonies both in church and state, which keeps up the reverence due to religion, as well as the duty and dignity due to the government and the majesty of kings."* Bishop Sheldon was of the same side, and declared, that if the act was suspended, he could not maintain his episcopal authority: that this would render the legislature ridiculous, and be the occasion of endless distractions.†—England is accustomed to obey laws (says he), so that while we stand on that ground we are safe; and, to answer all objections, he undertook to fill the vacant pulpits more to the people's satisfaction. By such arguments, delivered with great earnestness and zeal, they prevailed with the council to let the law take place for the present.

Nevertheless, about four months after, his majesty published a declaration to all his loving subjects, by advice of his privy council, dated December 26, 1662, in which, after reciting those words of his declaration from Breda, relating to his giving liberty to tender consciences, and his readiness to consent to an act of parliament for that purpose, his majesty adds, "As all these things are fresh in our memory, so are we still firm in the resolution of performing them to the full. . . . But it must not be wondered at, since that parliament to which those promises were made, never thought fit to offer us an act for that purpose, that we, being so zealous as we are (and by the grace of God shall ever be) for the maintenance of the true Protestant religion, should give its establishment the precedency before matters of indulgence to dissenters from it; but that being done, we are glad to renew to all our subjects concerned in those promises of indulgence, this assurance, That as for what concerns the penalties upon those, who, living peaceably, do not conform to the church of England through scruple, or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly, and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way, we shall make it our special care, as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom at the next approaching sessions, to concur with us in making some act for that purpose, as may enable us to exer-

* Parker's History, p. 29.

† Burnet, vol. 1. p. 279.

cise with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in us; nor can we doubt of their cheerful co-operating with us in a thing wherein we conceive ourselves so far engaged both in honour, and in what we owe to the peace of our dominions, which we profess we can never think secure whilst there shall be a colour left to disaffected persons to inflame the minds of so many multitudes upon the score of conscience, with despair of ever obtaining any effect of our promises for their ease."

His majesty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his favouring Papists; and after having avowed to the world the due sense he had of their having deserved well from his royal father, and from himself, and even from the Protestant religion, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance of their crown in the religion established, he declares, that "it is not in his intention to exclude them from all benefit from such an act of indulgence, but that they are not to expect an open toleration; but refers the manner to the approaching sessions of parliament, which he doubts not will concur with him in the performance of his promises."—He concludes "with hoping that all his subjects, with minds happily composed by his clemency and indulgence (instead of taking up thoughts of deserting their professions, or transplanting), will apply themselves comfortably, and with redoubled industry, to their several vocations, in such manner, as the private interest of every one in particular may encourage him to contribute cheerfully to the general prosperity.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, this 26th December, in the fourteenth year of our reign."

This declaration was thought to be framed at Somerset-house, where the queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of lord Clarendon or bishop Sheldon; and, according to Burnet, was the result of a council of Papists at the earl of Bristol's (who were under an oath of secrecy), and of the king himself.* It is modestly expressed; and though it carries in it a claim of the dispensing power, and of good-will to Popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. Accordingly his majesty, in his speech at the opening the next sessions, February 28, 1663, supported his declaration

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 282, 283.

in the following words, "that though he was in his nature an enemy to all severity in religion, he would not have them infer from thence, that he meant to favour Popery, though several of that profession, who had served him and his father well, might justly claim a share in that indulgence he would willingly afford to other dissenters; not that I intend them to hold any place in the government (says his majesty), for I will not yield to any, no, not to the bishops themselves, in my zeal for the Protestant religion, and my liking the act of uniformity; and yet if the dissenters will behave themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish I had such a power of indulgence to use upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it." This was the first open claim of a dispensing power, which the reader will observe did not propose a law for liberty of conscience, but that his majesty might have a legal power of indulgence vested in himself, which he might use or recall as he thought fit. This alarmed the house of commons, who voted the thanks of the house for his majesty's resolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but, that it was the opinion of the house, that no indulgence be granted to dissenters from it; and an address was appointed to be drawn up, and presented to his majesty, with the following reasons:

"We have considered (say they) your majesty's declaration from Breda, and are of opinion, that it was not a promise, but a gracious declaration to comply with the advice of your parliament, whereas no such advice has been given.* They who pretend a right to the supposed promise, put the right into the hands of their representatives, who have passed the act of uniformity.† If any shall say, a right to the benefit of the declaration still remains, it tends to dissolve the very bond of government, and to suppose a disability in the whole legislature to make a law contrary to your majesty's declaration. We have also considered the

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 634.

† According to this curious mode of reasoning, the authority of a trust justifies the abuse of it, and persons elected for the general welfare are not accountable for acting contrary to the interest of their constituents. Such a position is just as absurd, to use the simile of a late writer, as to imagine "that physicians, chosen to superintend and cure the sick in hospitals, have a right to kill their patients if they please." Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 7, note.—Ed.

nature of the indulgence proposed, and are of opinion,
 1. That it will establish schism by a law, and make the censures of the church of no consideration. 2. That it is unbecoming the wisdom of parliament to pass a law in one session for uniformity, and in another session to pass a law to frustrate or weaken it, the reasons continuing the same. 3. That it will expose your majesty to the restless importunities of every sect who shall dissent from the established church. 4. That it will increase sectaries, which will weaken the Protestant profession, and be troublesome to the government; and in time some prevalent sect may contend for an establishment which may end in Popery. 5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of convicting recusants. 6. That the indulgence proposed will not tend to the peace, but to the disturbance, of the kingdom; the best way therefore to produce a settled peace is to press vigorously the act of uniformity."

The reader will judge of the force of these reasons, which, in my opinion, would justify the severest persecution in the world; however, the king was convinced with a sum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that he had been ill understood. The house then addressed him to put the laws in execution against Papists; and a proclamation was issued out for that purpose, but little regarded. However, this opposition to the king and the Roman Catholics by lord Clarendon, and his friends in the house of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin some time after. Bishop Kennet admits, that the king was inclined to a general indulgence,* "though whether it was from his good-nature, or a secret inclination to introduce Popery, is not very decent to determine;" but both he and Echard are of opinion,† "that the king's clemency hardened the dissenters against the church; whereas, if they had lost all dependance on a court-interest, and had found the king and his ministry intent upon the strict execution of the act of uniformity, most of them (say they) would at this juncture have conformed." A notorious mistake! the contrary to this being evident to a demonstration throughout the course of this reign. The conformity of honest men does not depend upon the will, but the understanding, and it is very ungenerous at this distance to impeach

* Page 258.

† Echard, p. 806.

men's integrity, who underwent a long course of the severest trials to retain it.

Some of the ejected Presbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a distinction between lay-conformity and ministerial, they practised the former, and went sometimes to their parish-churches before or after the exercise of their ministry in some private houses; and this they did, not for interest or advantage, but to all appearance to express their catholicism and brotherly love.* Here was the rise of occasional conformity, practised by Dr. Bates, Mr. Baxter, and others, to their death; but this, instead of being well taken, was the occasion of bringing some of them into trouble; for Mr. Calamy, late minister of Aldermanbury, being at his parish-church December 28, the preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the parishioners, Mr. Calamy went up into the pulpit, and preached a sermon upon "Eli's concern for the ark of God;" a subject much upon their thoughts at that time: but this was so highly resented at court, that he was sent to Newgate next week for sedition, in breaking the king's laws.† It was done *in terrorem*, says my author, but there was such a clamour among the people, and such a resort of persons of distinction to visit the prisoner, that his majesty thought fit to release him in a few days, which not being done by due course of law, the commons resented it, and presented an address, that the laws for the future might have their free course. This disgusted the king, who was willing to assert his prerogative, and shew some favour to the Presbyterians, that he might cover the Papists; but lord Clarendon, who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, opposed the court-measures, and encouraged his friends in both houses to abide by the laws.‡

The following summer [1663] there was a fresh discourse of liberty for the silenced ministers; and the court was so far in the design as to encourage them to petition for a general toleration, insinuating this to be the only way of relief, and that the legislature would go on to increase their burdens, and lay them in jails till they complied. The Independents went up to court to speak for themselves, but the

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 436. Compl. Hist. p. 267.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 6.

‡ Rapin, p. 312, 313.

Presbyterians refused; upon which Mr. Baxter says, the Independent brethren thought it owing to them that they missed of their intended liberty.* The court being displeased, lord Clarendon and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their resentments, by fathering upon the Nonconformists some new plots against the government. There was said to be a conspiracy in the north among the Republicans and Separatists, to restore the long-parliament, and put Lambert and Ludlow at their head, though the former was shut up in prison in a remote island, and the other gone into banishment. There had been some unadvised and angry conversation among the meaner sort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentleman of character, much less that the body of the English Nonconformists, were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and several executed. Some very mean persons were indicted at the Old-Bailey for a branch of the same design, as, Tongue, Phillips, Stubbes, Hind, Sellars, and Gibbes: they were not tried separately, but set at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth-monarchy men, Anabaptists, Independents, and some Quakers, were consenting to some desperate designs, but the authors were never discovered; however, four of these pretended conspirators were executed, who confessed, at the place of execution, that they had heard some treasonable expressions in company, but denied to the last that they were acquainted with any conspiracy against the king; and whoever reads their trials will be inclined to think, that it was a design of those who were at the head of affairs, to inflame the populace against the Nonconformists, in order to bring on them greater severities.†

An act was passed this summer "for the relief of such persons as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the said act." The preamble sets forth, "that divers persons of eminent loyalty, and known affection to the liturgy of the church of England, were out of the kingdom; and others by reason of sickness, disability of body, or otherwise, could not subscribe within the time limited, and were therefore disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 430. 433.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 840, 841. Calamy, vol. 1. p. 305. Rapin, p. 635.

of their prebendaries, or other livings, therefore farther time is given them to the feast of the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing; or if out of England, forty days after their return:”* which shews, that the time limited by the act of uniformity was not sufficient. The journal of the house of lords mentions a clause inserted by their lordships, explaining the subscription and declaration to relate only to practice and obedience to the law, which passed the upper house, though several temporal lords protested against it, as destructive to the church of England; however, when it came down to the commons, the clause was rejected, and the lords did not think fit to insist upon its being restored.†

While the parliament were relieving the loyalists, they increased the burdens of the Nonconformists; for under colour of the late pretended plots, they passed an act for suppressing seditious conventicles; the preamble to which having set forth, that the sectaries, under pretence of tender consciences, at their meetings had contrived insurrections, the act declares the 35th of queen Elizabeth to be in full force, which condemns all persons refusing peremptorily to come to church, after conviction, to banishment, and in case of return to death, without benefit of clergy. It enacts farther,‡ “that if any person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July 1664, shall be present at any meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where shall be five or more persons than the household, shall for the first offence suffer three months’ imprisonment, upon record made upon oath under the hand and seal of a justice of peace, or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence six months’ imprisonment, or ten pounds; and for the third offence the offender to be banished to some of the American plantations for seven years, excepting New-England and Virginia, or pay one hundred pounds; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. Sheriffs, or justices of peace, or others

* 15 Car. II. cap. 6.

† “Thus it is the declared sense of the legislature, that the unfeigned assent and consent relates not only to the use, but to the inward and entire approbation of all and every thing as expressed in the subscription.” Fowler’s French Constitution, p. 352, note.

‡ 16 Car. II. cap. 4.

commissioned by them, are empowered to dissolve, dissipate, and break up, all unlawful conventicles, and to take into custody such of their number as they think fit. They who suffer such conventicles in their houses or barns are liable to the same forfeitures as other offenders. The prosecution is to be within three months. Married women taken at conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve months, unless their husbands pay forty shillings for their redemption. This act to continue in force for three years after the next session of parliament."

This was a terrible scourge over the laity, put into the hands of a single justice of peace, without the verdict of a jury, the oath of the informer being sufficient. The design of the parliament (says Rapin) was to drive them to despair, and to force them into real crimes against the government. By virtue of this act the jails in the several counties were quickly filled with dissenting Protestants, while the Papists had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the ministers who went to church in sermon-time, were disturbed for preaching to a few of their parishioners after the public service was over; their houses were broke open, and their hearers taken into custody; warrants were issued out for levying 20*l.* on the minister, 20*l.* upon the house, and 5*s.* upon each hearer. If the money was not immediately paid, there was a seizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the shops; and in the country, cattle were driven away and sold for half the value. If the seizure did not answer the fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison, and held under close confinement for three or six months. The trade of an informer began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the spiritual courts. At every quarter-sessions several were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated: nay, some have been sentenced to abjure the realm, and fined in a sum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Before the conventicle-act took place the laity were courageous,* and exhorted their ministers to preach till they went to prison; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in jail, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves, how to avoid the edge of the

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 436.

law in the best manner they could; for this purpose their assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private places; and yet, notwithstanding all their caution, they were frequently disturbed; but it is remarkable, that under all their hardships they never made the least resistance, but went quietly along with the soldiers or officers, when they could not fly from them. The distress of so many families made some confine themselves within their own houses, some remove to the plantations, and others have recourse to occasional conformity, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church; but the Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, declined the practice, for they said, If persecution was the mark of a false church, it must be absolutely unlawful to join with one that was so notoriously guilty.

Indeed the Quakers gloried in their sufferings, and were so resolute as to assemble openly at the Bull-and-Mouth near Aldersgate,* from whence the soldiers and other officers dragged them to prison, till Newgate was filled, and multitudes died by close confinement in the several jails. The account published about this time says, there were six hundred of them in prison, merely for religion's sake, of whom several were banished to the plantations. Sometimes the Quakers met and continued silent, upon which it was questioned, whether such an assembly was a conventicle for religious exercise; and when some were tried for it in order to banishment, they were acquitted of the banishment, and came off with a fine, which they seldom paid, and were therefore continued in prison.† In short the Quakers about London gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other dissenters.

So great was the severity of these times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the justices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to visit them were present. Some families scrupled asking a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table. In London, where the houses join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in several houses, and heard the minister through a window or hole in the wall; but it seems this was overruled, the determination being (as has been observed) in the breast of a single mer-

* Sewel, p. 445.

† Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 436.

cenary justice of peace. And while conscientious people were thus oppressed, the common people gave themselves up to drunkenness, profane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of Heaven upon the nation.

The first general calamity that befel the kingdom, was a war with the Dutch, which the king entered into this winter by the instigation of the young French monarch Lewis XIV. who, being grown rich by a long peace, sought for an opportunity to make new conquests in the Spanish Flanders; for this purpose he engaged the maritime powers in a war, that by weakening each other's hands they might not be at leisure to assist the Spaniards whom he intended to attack. The English made complaints of the encroachments of the Dutch upon their trade, and indignities offered to his majesty's subjects in India, Africa, and elsewhere; the French promoted these misunderstandings, and promised to supply the king with what sums of money he wanted; till at length war was proclaimed February 22, 1664—5, in the course of which sundry bloody engagements happened at sea; the two nations were drained of their blood and their treasure, and the Protestant interest almost ruined, while the French were little more than spectators. The war continued about two years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation.

[In the year 1663 there was obtained, by the interest of Mr. Baxter and Mr. Ashurst with the lord-chancellor Hyde, a charter for the incorporating "A society or company for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America." Such a society had been formed under the sanction of an act of parliament in 1646: and, by a collection made in all the parishes in England, there had been raised a sum sufficient to purchase an estate in land of between 500 and 600*l.* a year. Upon the restoration of king Charles II. the charter became void, and colonel Beddingfield, a Roman-Catholic officer in the army, of whom a considerable part of the land was bought, seized it for his own use; pretending he had sold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. The society, being re-established, at great trouble and expense, were again put in possession of the estate by a decree of chancery, which the honourable Mr. Boyle was very instrumental in

obtaining. He was appointed the first governor of the company.*


On the 4th of June this year died, aged eighty-one, Dr. William Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, whose elevation to the post of lord-high-treasurer of England and other early preferments have been mentioned before, vol. 2. p. 250. He was born in Chichester, received his grammar-learning at Merchant Tailors'-school, became fellow of St. John's college Oxford in 1598, and bachelor of the civil law in 1603, being about that time a student in Grey's-inn. Soon after he entered into holy orders, and in 1609 was made vicar of St. Giles, Oxford. In 1626 he executed the office of vice-chancellor. After the death of Charles I. he retired to his paternal manor of Little-Compton in Gloucestershire, and devoted himself to liberal studies. On the Restoration, he was advanced, September 4, 1660, to the see of Canterbury. He was buried with great funeral pomp in St. John's college, Oxon. He is said to have acted, at a very critical time, with a prudence, moderation, and integrity, which enmity could not impeach in his arduous office as high-treasurer. He left many monuments of his munificence and liberality. "The mildness of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the integrity of his life (says Mr. Granger), gained him universal esteem; and even the haters of prelacy could never hate Juxon."†

Mr. Henry Jessey, an eminent divine among the Puritans, died also on the 4th of September this year. He was born on the 3d of September 1601, at West-Rowton, near Cleveland in Yorkshire, where his father was minister. At seventeen years of age he was sent to St. John's college in Cambridge; he continued six years at the university, where he commenced first bachelor, then master of arts. In 1623 died his father, who had hitherto supplied him according to his ability; which event left him in such strait circumstances, that he had not above three-pence a day for his maintenance, yet he so economically managed this small pittance, as to spare some of it for hiring books. He pursued his studies with diligence, and, not contenting himself with the *ipse dixit* of authority, he investigated science freely. He left

* Neal's History of New-England, vol. 1. p. 262.

† Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 109. 154. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 662, 663; and Richardson de Præsalibus, p. 162.

the university well versed in the Hebrew and the writings of the rabbies, with a knowledge of Syriac and Chaldee. During this period his mind imbibed a strong sense of religion, and he determined to devote himself to the ministry. He spent nine years, after leaving the university, as chaplain in the family of Mr. Brampton Gurdon, at Assington in Suffolk, improving his time, and, among other studies, giving his attention to physic. In 1627 he received episcopal ordination, but could not be prevailed upon to accept any promotion until 1633, when the living of Aughton, in Yorkshire, was given to him. But he was removed the very next year for not using the ceremonies, and for taking down a crucifix. On this he was received into the family of sir Matthew Bointon in the same county, and preached frequently at two parishes in the neighbourhood. In 1635, accompanying his patron to London, he was invited to be pastor of the congregation formed in 1616 by Mr. Henry Jacob; this his modesty led him to decline for some time, but, after many prayers and much consideration, he accepted the invitation, and continued in this post till his death. Soon after, the sentiments of the Baptists were embraced by many of this society. This put him upon studying the controversy; and the result was, that after great deliberation, many prayers, and frequent conferences with pious and learned friends, he altered his sentiments, first concerning the mode, and then the subjects, of baptism. But he maintained the same temper of friendship and charity towards other Christians, not only as to conversation, but church-communion. When he visited the churches in the north and west of England, he laboured to promote the spirit of love and union among them, and was a principal person in setting up and maintaining, for some time, a meeting of some eminent men of each denomination in London. He divided his labours according to the liberality of his temper. In the afternoon of every Lord's day he was among his own people. In the morning he usually preached at St. George's church, Southwark, and once in the week at Ely-house, and at the Savoy to the maimed soldiers. The master study of his life was a new translation of the Bible; in this design he engaged the assistance of many persons of note. It was almost completed, when the great turn given to public affairs at the Restoration rendered it abortive. The benevo-



lence of his exertions formed a most distinguishing trait in his character. He chose a single life, that he might be more at liberty for such labours. Besides his own alms, he was a constant solicitor and agent for the poor, and carried about with him a list and description of the most peculiar objects of charity which he knew. Thirty families had all their subsistence from him. But his charity was not limited to his own congregation: and where he thought it no charity to give, he would often lend without interest or security. One of the most remarkable instances of his charity which had scarcely a precedent, was what he shewed to the poor Jews at Jerusalem, who by a war between the Swedes and Poles, which cut off their subsistence from their rich brethren in other countries, were reduced to great extremities. Mr. Jessey collected for them 300*l.* and sent with it letters with a view to their conversion to Christianity. In the year 1650 he had written a treatise to remove their prejudices, and convince them of the Messiahship of Jesus, recommended by several of the assembly of divines, and afterward translated into Hebrew to be dispersed among the Jews of all nations. He was exposed to a great number of visitors; which occasioned him to have it written over his study-door;

AMICE, QUISQUIS HUC ADES;
AUT AGITO PAUCIS, AUT ABI,
AUT ME LABORANTEM ADJUVA.

WHATEVER FRIEND COMES HITHER,
DISPATCH IN BRIEF, OR GO,
OR HELP ME BUSIED TOO. H. J.

When he went long journeys, he laid down rules to regulate the conversation for his fellow-travellers, which were enforced by small pecuniary mulcts on the violation of them. He was meek and humble, and very plain in speech, dress, and demeanour. He was so great a scripturist, that if one began to rehearse any passage, he could go on with it, and name the book, chapter, and verse, where it might be found. The original languages of the Old and New Testament were as familiar to him as his mother-tongue. He was several times apprehended at meetings for religious worship. Upon the Restoration he was ejected from his living at St. George's, silenced from his ministry, and committed

to prison. About five or six months after his last release, he died full of peace and joy; lamented by persons of different persuasions, several thousands of whom attended his funeral. Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. 1. p. 307—321. Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 1. p. 108—113. *The Life and Death of Mr. Jessey, 1671*; where are the letters written to the Jews, remarks on our translation of the Bible, and rules for a new version. *Ed.*]

The next judgment which befel the nation was the most dreadful plague that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, inso-much that there was no food for the cattle, which occasioned first a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human species, which increased in the city and suburbs of London until eight or ten thousand died in a week.* The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter counties; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not to be expressed. Trade was at a full stand; all commerce between London and the country was entirely cut off, lest the infection should be propagated thereby. Nay, the country house-keepers and farmers durst not entertain their city friends or relations till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houses. If a stranger passed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In London the shops and houses were quite shut up, and many of them marked with a red cross, and an inscription over the door, *Lord, have mercy upon us!* grass grew in the streets; and every night the bellman went his rounds with a cart, crying, *Bring out your dead.* From London the plague spread into the neighbouring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had swept away almost one hundred thousand of the inhabitants.

* Dr. Grey has introduced here a full and affecting narrative of the progress of this calamity, and of the mortality it produced; drawn up by the pen of Mr. Vincent, one who charitably gave his assistance at that time, as copied by Dr. Calamy, in his *Continuation*, p. 33. It was usual for people, as they went about their business, to drop down in the street. A bagpiper, who, excessively overcome with liquor, had fallen down and lay asleep in the street, was taken up, and thrown into a cart, and betimes the next morning carried away with some dead bodies. At day-break he awoke, and rising began to play a tune: which so surprised those who drove the cart, and could see nothing distinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it they had taken up the devil in the disguise of a dead man. See *John Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 10, 11.—*Ed.*

Some of the established clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their stations, and preach to their parishioners throughout the course of the plague, as Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Meriton, and a few others;* but most of them fled, and deserted their parishes at a time when their assistance was most wanted; upon this some of the ejected ministers ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that so extraordinary a case would justify their disregard to the laws. The ministers who embarked in this service were, the reverend Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Chester, Mr. Janeway, Mr. Turner, Grimes, Franklin, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next; the cry of great numbers was, "What shall we do to be saved?" A more awful time England had never seen.

But it will amaze all posterity, that in a time both of war and pestilence, and when the Nonconformist ministers were hazarding their lives in the service of the souls of the distressed and dying citizens of London, that the prime-minister and his creatures,† instead of mourning for the nation's sins, and meditating a reformation of manners, should pour out all their vengeance upon the Nonconformists, in order to make their condition more insupportable. One would have thought such a judgment from Heaven, and such a generous compassion in the ejected ministers, should have softened the hearts of their most cruel enemies; but the Presbyterians must be crushed, in defiance of the rebukes of Providence. Bishop Kennet and Mr. Echard would excuse the ministry, by alleging, that some of the old Oliverian officers were enlisted in the Dutch service;‡ which, if true, was nothing to the body of the Presbyterians, though Lord Clarendon did what he could to incense the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the house, he says "their countenances were more erect, and more insolent, since the beginning of the war than before; that they were ready, if any misfortune had befallen the king's fleet, to have brought the war into our fields and

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 2.

† Ibid. part 3. p. 3.

‡ Echard, p. 824.

houses. The horrid murderers of our late royal master have been received into the most sacred councils in Holland; and other infamous persons of our nation are admitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs, with liberal pensions. Too many of his majesty's subjects have been enlisted in their service for a maintenance. Their friends at home made no doubt of doing the business themselves, if they could pitch upon a lucky day to begin the work. If you carefully provide for suppressing your enemies at home, you will find your enemies abroad more inclined to peace—"Is it possible that such a speech could proceed from the lips of a wise and faithful counsellor, who was to ask for money to carry on the war? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad was to divide and harass the king's subjects at home, in the midst of the distress of a terrible plague? He confessed afterward, that he was most averse to this war, and abhorred it from his very soul; and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the Presbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it happened to them as in Popish countries; when any general calamity befalls the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to heretics, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads.* Bishop Burnet is of opinion that the Oxford act was rather owing to the liberty the Nonconformists took in their sermons to complain of their own hardships, and to lament the vices of the court, as the causes of the present calamities. And supposing this to be true, their complaints were not without reason.

However, the load was to lie on the dissenting ministers, and therefore an act was brought into the house to banish them from their friends, which had the royal assent, October 31, 1665. It was entitled, "An act to restrain Nonconformists from inhabiting corporations;" the preamble to which sets forth, "that divers parsons, and others in holy orders, not having subscribed the act of uniformity, have taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty's subjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that all such Nonconformist ministers shall take the following oath: I A. B. do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pre-

* Echard, p. 646.

tence whatsoever, to take arms against the king;* and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state. And all such Nonconformist ministers shall not after the 24th of March, 1665, unless in passing the road, come, or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, that sends burgesses to parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they have since the act of oblivion been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c. or where they have preached in any conventicle on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath before the justices of peace at their quarter-sessions for the county, in open court; upon forfeiture for every such offence of the sum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it. And it is farther enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath aforesaid shall be incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders† or tablers to be taught or instructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be distributed as above. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them of any offence committed against this act, are empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months, without bail or mainprize."

The earl of Southampton, lord Wharton, Ashley, Dr. Earl bishop of Salisbury, and others, vehemently opposed this bill, out of compassion to the Nonconformists, and as it enforced an unlawful and unjustifiable oath, which (as the earl of Southampton observed) no honest man could take; but the madness of the times prevailed against all reason and humanity.‡ The promoters of the act were, lord-chancellor Clarendon, archbishop Sheldon, Ward the new bishop of Salisbury, and their creatures, with all that were

* A project was formed of imposing this clause on the whole nation, by requiring this oath of every subject. The point was so near being carried, that the bill brought in for the purpose was rejected by three voices only: *Secret History of the Reign of Charles II.* vol. 2. p. 172, note.—Ed.

† "This act seemed (it is justly observed) to be the last step in the climax of intolerance; for to deprive men of the means of subsistence implies more deliberate cruelty, though it does not excite so much horror as fire and fagots." *Secret History of the Reign of Charles II.* vol. 2. p. 171, note.—Ed.

‡ Baxter, part 3. p. 3. Barnet, vol. 1. p. 329.

secret favourers of Popery, says bishop Burnet. It was moved that the word *legally* might be inserted in the oath, before the word "commissioned;" and that before the words "endeavoured to change the government," might be inserted the word *unlawfully*; but all amendments were rejected;* however, Bridgman, chief-justice of the common-pleas, declaring that the oath must be so understood, Dr. Bates and about twenty others took it, to avoid the imputation of sedition; but they had such a lecture afterward from the bench for their scruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of court. Mr. Howe, and about twelve in Devonshire, and a few in Dorsetshire, took the oath with a declaration in what sense and with what limitations they understood it."†

But the body of the Nonconformist ministers refused the oath, choosing rather to forsake their habitations, their relations, and friends, and all visible support, than destroy the peace of their consciences. Those ministers who had some little estate or substance of their own, retired to some remote and obscure villages, or such little market-towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find such places of retirement; for either there were no houses untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the ministers were not capable of using; or the people were afraid to admit the ministers into their houses, lest they should be suspected as favourers of non-conformity.‡ Some took advantage of the ministers' necessities, and raised their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obscurity, while others, who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were sent to prison, thinking it more eligible to perish in a jail than to starve out of one; especially when by this means they had some occasional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be supported after their death.§ Many who lay concealed in distant places from their flocks in the day-time, rode thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before day-light. These hardships tempted some few to conform (says Mr. Baxter),

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 15.

† Howe's Life, p. 41.

‡ Baxter, part 3. p. 4. Burnet, p. 331.

§ Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 15.

contrary to their former judgments; but the body of dissenters remained steadfast to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers. The informers were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the soldiers and officers behaved with great rudeness and violence. When they missed of the ministers, they went into the barns and out-houses, and sometimes thrust their swords up to the hilts in the hay and straw, where they supposed they might lie concealed; they made havoc of their goods, and terrified the women and children almost out of their lives. These methods of cruelty reduced many ministers with their families to the necessity of living upon brown rye-bread and water; but few were reduced to public beggary, says Mr. Baxter,* the providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greatest extremities.

And as if the judgments of Heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legislature sufficiently severe, the bishops must throw their weight into the scale; for in the very midst of the plague, July 7, 1665, archbishop Sheldon sent orders to the several bishops of his province to return the names of all ejected Nonconformist ministers, with their places of abode, and manner of life; and the returns of the several bishops are still preserved in the Lambeth library.† The design of this inquiry was to gird the laws closer upon the dissenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbishop could have had his will, they must have starved, or sought a livelihood in foreign countries.

This year put an end to the life of Dr. Cornelius Burgess, a divine of the Puritan stamp,‡ educated at Oxford, and

* Page 4.

† Comp. Hist. vol. 3. p. 279.

‡ "If all the Puritans (says Dr. Grey) had been of his rebellious stamp, they had certainly been a wicked crew, but there was a great difference in Puritans, some very good, and some very bad, as is justly observed by Mr. Fuller." In his first volume also, p. 268, the doctor impeaches the character of this divine, in the words of Echard; who calls him "the seditious Dr. Burgess, and one of the greatest Bontefens of the whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the most violent proceedings, a great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation; who died in great want and poverty, tormented and eaten up by a cancer in his neck and cheek—a fearful instance of rebellion and sacrilege." To these and other invectives of the archdeacon Echard against Dr. Burgess, Dr. Calamy replied; but the reply goes chiefly to shew the archdeacon's partiality, by inveighing in this manner against Burgess, when the characters of some on the other side were open to similar charges. The fact, which seems to bear hard on the name of this divine, is, that though he declared it "by no means lawful to alienate the bishops' lands from public and pious uses, or to convert them to any private person's property;" yet he gained so much as to grow rich by the purchase of them. After the Restoration he lost all. This, Dr. Calamy thinks, might be

chaplain to king Charles I. He suffered much by the high-commission court, but, taking part with the parliament, was chosen one of the pacific divines; who met at the Jerusalem-chamber, to accommodate differences in the church: he often preached before the house of commons, and was one of the assembly of divines, but refused to take the covenant till he was suspended. He was ejected at the Restoration from St. Andrew's in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, and having laid out all his money in the purchase of bishops' lands, he was reduced to absolute poverty.* He appeared at the head of the London divines, against bringing the king to his trial, and was esteemed a very learned and able divine. He died at his house at Watford, June 1665.

We have already remembered Dr. Cheynel among the Oxford professors, a man of great abilities, and a member of the assembly of divines. He quitted his preferments in the university for refusing to take the engagement, and was ejected from the living of Petworth at the Restoration, without having enriched himself by any of his preferments.† It is reported that he was sometimes disordered in his head, but he was perfectly recovered some years before his death, which happened at his house near Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, September 1665.‡

allowed a sufficient punishment without branding his memory. What inconsistency or faults soever might be chargeable on Dr. Burgess, the interpretation which the archdeacon puts on his death deserves severe censure, as "rash and presuming." This method gives a particular and invidious construction to events that arise from general laws, and equally befall the righteous and the wicked: and it shews, how they who use it would direct, if it were in their power, the evils and calamities of life. It indicates as much a want of candour and generosity as of sound judgment.—It appears from a MS. history drawn up by Dr. Henry Sampson, a noted physician, that Dr. Burgess was deemed a man of solid parts and great learning; that no temptations could induce him to return to the episcopal side; that in the year 1648, he preached a sermon fuller of loyalty than the boldest at that time would dare to express; that he was against imposing the covenant, and refused to take it till he was suspended. He was excellently skilled in the liturgical controversies, and those of church-government: and was possessed of all the books of Common Prayer that were ever printed in England, and bestowed them upon Oxford library. Dr. Calamy's letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, p. 107—111.—Ed.

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 235. Calamy, vol. 2. p. 586; or Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 384.

† For he was remarkable throughout his life for hospitality and contempt of money. Dr. Johnson published an account of this extraordinary man, that appeared first in the Gentleman's Magazine for March and April 1775; which, Mr. Palmer remarks, is a satire both upon Dr. Cheynel and the times. Dr. Cheynel, this narrative says, "had an intrepidity which was never to be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprise not to be discouraged by difficulty; which were supported by an unusual degree of bodily strength. Whatever he believed he thought himself obliged to profess, and what he professed he was ready to defend."—Ed.

‡ Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 245. Calamy, vol. 2. p. 675; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 467.

[There died in prison this year, Mr. Samuel Fisher, a man of great parts and literature, of eminent piety and virtue, who reflected honour on each denomination of Christians, with which, through the change of his sentiments, he became successively connected. His father was a haberdasher of hats, and mayor of Northampton. In 1623, at the age of eighteen, he became a student in Trinity-college, Oxford; where he took the degree of master of arts, and then removed to New-Inn. At the university, he distinguished himself, by his application and proficiency gained an accurate knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquities, and was particularly given to the study of rhetoric and poetry. When he had finished his academic course, he became chaplain to sir Arthur Haslerigge. In 1632, he was presented to the vicarage of Lidd in Kent, a living of 500*l.* a year. Here he had the character of a very powerful preacher, united with humility and affability of carriage. While in this situation, in consequence of frequent conversation with a Baptist minister, he was led into an examination of the questions concerning baptism, which ended in his embracing the opinions of the Baptists, being baptized by immersion, and taking the pastoral care of a congregation of that people, having freely resigned his living and returned his diploma to the bishop; which those who differ from him must applaud as a singular instance of sincerity and self-denial. On this he rented a farm and commenced grazier; "by which he procured a decent competency, enhanced (says Mr. Gough) by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart." During his connexion with the Baptists, he baptized some hundreds, and was frequently engaged in public disputes in vindication of their sentiments, to the number of nine, in the course of three years, with several noted ministers, sometimes in the presence of two thousand auditors, and once with Dr. Cheynel. He published also a treatise, entitled "Baby-baptism mere babism;" which is represented as containing the whole state of the controversy as it was then managed. He was deemed an ornament to the sect, and was one of the chief defenders of their doctrine. In 1665, he embraced the principles of the Quakers, and became an active and laborious minister among them. He preached at Dunkirk against the idolatry of the priests and friars: and in com-

pany with another friend, travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome; where they testified against the superstitions of the place, and distributed some books amongst the ecclesiastics: and left it without molestation. After his return he suffered among Protestants the persecution he escaped among the Romanists. The great part of the four last years of his life was spent in prison; and after two years' confinement in the White-Lion prison in Southwark, he died "in perfect peace with God; in good esteem both with his friends and many others, on account of the eminence of his natural parts and acquired abilities as a scholar, and of his exemplary humility, social virtues, and circumspect conversation, as a Christian: in meekness instructing those who opposed him, and labouring incessantly by his discourses and by his writings to propagate and promote true Christian practice and piety." Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 243. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 361, &c. and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 163; and vol. 2. p. 141.—ED.]

The vices of the nation not being sufficiently punished by pestilence and war, it pleased Almighty God this year to suffer the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in Pudding-lane behind the Monument, September 2, 1666, and within three or four days consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. Paul's; many public structures, schools, libraries, and stately edifices. Multitudes lost their goods and merchandise, and the greatest part of their substance, and some few their lives; the king, the duke of York, and many of the nobility, were spectators of the desolation, but had not the power to stop its progress, till at length it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began. Moorfields was filled with household goods, and the people were forced to lodge in huts and tents: many families who were last week in prosperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this fire were said to be the Papists, as appears by the inscription upon the Monument. The parliament, being of this opinion, petitioned the king to issue out a proclamation, requiring all Popish priests and Jesuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence

of some Papists who were seen to throw fire-balls into houses, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets; but the men were fled, and none suffered but one Hubert, a Frenchman, by his own confession.*

In this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish-ministers withdrawn for want of habitations or places of worship, the Nonconformists resolved again to supply the necessities of the people, depending upon it, that in such an extremity, they should escape persecution. Some churches were erected of boards, which they called tabernacles, and the dissenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits, seats, and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Dr. Manton had his rooms full in Covent-Garden; Mr. Tho. Vincent, Mr. Doolittle, Dr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Nath. Vincent, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Watson, had their separate meetings in other places. The Independents also, as, Dr. Owen, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Griffiths, Brooks, Caryl, Barker, Nye, and others, began the same practice; many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read; though the few parish-pulpits that remained were filled with very able preachers; as, Dr. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, White, Gifford, Whichcote, Horton, Meriton, &c. But none of these calamities had any farther influence upon the court, prelates, than that they durst not prosecute the preachers so severely for the present.†

Among the Nonconformist ministers who died this year, were, the reverend Mr. Edward Calamy, B. D.‡ the ejected minister of Aldermanbury, born in London 1600, and bred in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; he was first chaplain to Dr. Felton, bishop of Ely; and afterward settled at St. Edmundsbury, from whence, after ten years, he with thirty other ministers, were driven out of the diocese by bishop Wren's visitation-articles and the book of sports. Upon the death of Dr. Stoughton, 1639, he was chosen to Aldermanbury, where he soon gained a vast reputation. He was one of the divines who met in the Jerusalem-chamber for

* Hubert was a French Hugonot, of Roan in Normandy. Though he confessed the fact, yet according to Rohard, he suffered unjustly; for he was a sort of lunatic, and had not landed in England till two days after the fire, as appeared by the evidence of the master of the ship who had him on board. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 439.—Ed.

† Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 19.

‡ Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 4.

accommodating ecclesiastical matters in the year 1641. He was afterward a member of the assembly at Westminster, and an active man in all their proceedings. He was one of the most popular preachers in the city,* and had a great hand in the king's restoration, but soon repented his having done it without a previous treaty. He refused a bishoprick, because he could not have it upon the terms of the king's declaration; and soon after the Bartholomew-act, was imprisoned in Newgate for preaching an occasional sermon to his parishioners.† He afterward lived pretty much retired: till this year, when being driven in a coach through the ruins of the city of London, it so affected him, that he went home, and never came out of his chamber more, dying within a month in the sixty-seventh year of his age.‡

Mr. Arthur Jackson, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Faith's, was born about the year 1593, and educated in Cambridge. He became minister of St. Michael's Wood-street; in the year 1625, when the pestilence raged in the city; and continued with his parish throughout the whole course of the distemper.§ He was fined 500*l.* for refusing to give evidence against Mr. Love, and committed prisoner to the

* His week-day lecture was constantly attended for twenty years together by persons of the greatest quality, there being seldom so few as twenty coaches. He was president in meetings of the city-ministers, and qualified, by natural and acquired abilities, to be the leader of the Presbyterians. He dared to censure the conduct of Cromwell to his face, and was never known to be intimidated, where he thought his duty was concerned; of which his grandson gives a remarkable proof.¶ He was one of the writers against the liturgy. The title of one of the answers to him and his brethren is a curious specimen of the taste and spirit of the times. It was called "A Throat Hapse for the Frogs and Toads that crept abroad croaking against the Common Prayer-book." Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 184, octavo, and note.—Ed.

† This confinement made no small noise; Mr. Calamy was a man so generally beloved and respected. Dr. Wilde published a copy of verses on the occasion, which was spread through all parts of the kingdom. And the passage through Newgate-street was obstructed by the coaches of those who visited him in his imprisonment. A Popish lady, who had been stopped by them, finding what alarm and disturbance this proceeding against Mr. Calamy had produced, took the first opportunity to wait upon the king at Whitehall, and communicate the whole matter to him, expressing her fear, that if such steps as these were taken, he would lose the affections of the city, which might be of very ill consequence. On this remonstrance, and for some other reasons, Mr. Calamy was in a little time discharged by the express order of his majesty. Memoirs of Dr. Edmund Calamy, MS.—Ed.

‡ Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 73.

§ Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 2. p. 3; or, Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 104.

¶ Preaching before general Monk, soon after the Restoration, having occasion to speak of filthy lucre, he said, "Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake:" and immediately threw his handkerchief, which he usually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the general's pew. Palmer and Granger, at *supra*.—Ed.

Fleet, where he remained seventeen weeks. At the Restoration he was chosen by the provincial assembly of London to present a Bible to the king at his public entrance.* He was afterward one of the commissioners of the Savoy; and when the uniformity-act took place, being old, he retired to a private life, and died with great satisfaction in his non-conformity, August 5, 1665, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Dr. William Spurstow, the ejected minister of Hackney, was sometime master of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, but ejected for refusing the engagement. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*, a member of the assembly of divines, and afterward one of the commissioners of the Savoy; a man of great learning, humility, and charity, and of a cheerful conversation: he lived through the sickness-year, but died the following in an advanced age.†

This year was memorable for the fall of the great earl of Clarendon, lord-high-chancellor of England, who attended the king in his exile, and upon his majesty's restoration was created a peer, and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of England. He governed with a sovereign and absolute sway as prime-minister for about two years; but in the year 1663, he was impeached of high-treason by the earl of Bristol; and though the impeachment was dropped for want of form, his interest at court declined from that time, and after the Oxford parliament of 1665, his lordship was out of all credit. This summer the king took the seals from him, and on the 12th of November sir Edward Seymour impeached him of high-treason, at the bar of the house of peers, in the name of all the commons of England, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater estate than could be honestly gotten in that time.—For procuring grants of the king's lands to his relations, contrary to law—for corresponding with Cromwell in his exile‡—for advising and

* "There was (Mr. Granger observes) a particular propriety in assigning this office to him, as he had written a commentary on several parts of the Bible." He was a man of prodigious application; at the university he studied fourteen or sixteen hours a day, and to the day of his death constantly rose, summer and winter, at three or four o'clock in the morning. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 43, octavo.—Ed.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 471; or, Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 2. p. 173.

‡ Dr. Grey supposes that Mr. Neal could not but know that lord Clarendon had cleared himself from this charge to the king's satisfaction during his exile; who de-

effecting the sale of Dunkirk—for issuing out *quo warrantos* to obtain great sums of money from the corporations—for determining people's title to their lands at the council-table, and stopping proceedings at law, &c. The earl had made himself obnoxious at court by his magisterial carriage to the king,* and was grown very unpopular by his superb and magnificent palace at St. James's, erected in a time of war and pestilence, which cost him 50,000l.† Some called it Dunkirk-house, as being built with his share of the price of that fortress; and others Holland-house, as if he had received money from the king's enemies in time of war. The king's second marriage, which proved barren, was laid to his charge, and said to be contrived for the advancement of his grand-children by the dutchess of York, who was the earl's daughter. When his majesty inclined to part with his queen, and if possible to legitimate his addresses to Miss Steward, the chancellor got her married privately to the duke of Richmond, without the king's knowledge, which his majesty was told was to secure the succession of the crown to his own family. This intriguing, together with his high opposition to the Roman Catholics, and to all who were not of his principles, procured him many enemies, and struck him quite out of the king's favour. The earl did not think fit to abide the storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almost every article of his charge;‡ but the parliament

clared "that he was sorry that he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent, which he did, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his justification: which his majesty himself would sign."—Ed.

* Burnet, p. 365. 369, 370.

† Mr. Echard says, that this palace was built in the absence of the chancellor, principally at the expense of the Vintner's company; and that when he came to see the case of it, he rather submitted than consented, and with a sigh said, "This house will one day be my ruin." Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 352, note. The doctor fills two pages here, with quoting lord Clarendon's vindication of himself.—Ed.

‡ The articles of the charge stated by Mr. Neal were, if you credit Dr. Welwood, the ostensible causes only of the chancellor's fall. The true reason why he was abandoned to his enemies was, that he secretly opposed the design of the parliament to settle such a revenue upon the king during life as would place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except on some extraordinary occasion: and he drew the earl of Southampton into his views, urging that he knew the king so well, that if such a revenue were once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use; and there would be no probability of seeing many more sessions of parliament during that reign. This came to the king's ears. Memoirs, p. 109, 110, sixth edition. Lord Cornbury, in a letter to the duke of Ormond preserved by Carte, said that his father never stirred as long as he saw any probability of being brought to his trial in parliament, though all his friends persuaded him to leave the kingdom, fearing that his innocence would not protect him against the malice of his enemies. When

voted his defence scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. December 18, his lordship was banished the king's dominions for life by act of parliament; he spent the remaining seven years of his life at Roan in Normandy, among Papists and Presbyterians, whom he would hardly suffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of his time in writing the history of the grand rebellion,* which is in every one's hands.

The earl of Clarendon was a Protestant of Laudean principles in church and state, and at the head of all the penal laws against the Nonconformists to this time. Bishop Burnet says,† “He was a good chancellor,‡ but a little too rough; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which he never understood well: that he had too much levity in his wit, and did not observe the decorum of his post.” Mr. Rapin adds,§ “that from him came all the blows aimed at the Nonconformists since the beginning of this reign. His immoderate passion against Presbyterianism was this great man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people; and, perhaps, contributed more than any other person to that excess of animosity which subsists against them at this day among the followers of his maxims and principles.” Mr. Echard says, “His removal was a great satisfaction to the dissenters (directly contrary to Mr. Baxter); who observes a remarkable providence of God, that he who had

he found that there was a design to prorogue the parliament on purpose to try him by a jury of peers, by which means he might fall into the hands of the protesting lords, he resolved to avail himself of an opportunity of going over to Calais. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 355, 356.—ED.

* He also read over *Livy* and *Tacitus*, and almost *Tully's* works; and “was a much greater, perhaps a happier, man alone and in exile (says Mr. Granger), than Charles II. upon his throne.” *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 360; and vol 4. p. 64, note.—ED.

† Page 33.

Dr. Grey gives bishop Burnet's character of the lord-chancellor more at length; and prefixes another character of his lordship drawn by the pen of Mr. Carte, to “obviate (as he expresses himself) the ill-natured reflection cast upon him by Mr. Neal; because he adhered to the interest of his king and country, and would not give up the church established into the hands of unreasonable fanatics.”—ED.

‡ A domestic incident, related by bishop Burnet, is supposed to have fixed and heightened the chancellor's zeal for the constitutional liberties of his country, in civil matters. On a visit which he paid to his father, a gentleman of Wiltshire, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, as they were walking one day in a field, his father observed to him, “that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves;” and charged him, that he should “never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own interest, or to the will of a prince.” He repeated this twice; and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. 1. p. 231.

§ Vol. 2. p. 650, folio ed.

dealt so cruelly by the Nonconformists should be banished by his own friends, while the others, whom he had persecuted, were most moderate in his case, and many of them for him. It was a great ease that befel good men by his fall (says he), for his way was to decoy men into conspiracies, or pretended plots, and upon those rumours innocent people were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe; whereas since his time, though the laws have been made more severe, yet men are more safe."* His lordship was undoubtedly a person of very considerable abilities, which have been sufficiently celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to discover any great or generous exploits for the service of the public; and how far his conduct with regard to the Nonconformists was consistent with humanity, religion, or honour, must be left with the reader.

CHAP. VIII.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON
TO THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE IN
THE YEAR 1672.

1667.

UPON the fall of the earl of Clarendon, the discourse of a toleration began to revive: the king in his speech to his parliament, February 10, has this passage: "One thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present, that is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my Protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it."† Sundry pamphlets were published upon this head; and the duke of Buckingham being now prime-minister, the Nonconformists about London were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

But the house of commons, who were yet influenced by

* Baxter, part 3. p. 20, 21.

† Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 316.

the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the king to issue out his proclamation, for enforcing the laws against conventicles, and for preserving the peace of the kingdom, against unlawful assemblies of Papists and Nonconformists. Accordingly, his majesty issued out his proclamation, that "upon consideration of the late petition, and upon information that divers persons in several parts of the realm (abusing his clemency, even while it was under consideration to find out a way for the better union of his Protestant subjects), have of late frequently and openly, in great numbers, and to the great disturbance of the peace, held unlawful assemblies and conventicles, his majesty declares, that he will not suffer such notorious contempt of the laws to go unpunished, but requires, charges, and commands, all officers to be circumspect and vigilant in their several jurisdictions, to enforce and put the laws in execution against unlawful conventicles, commanding them to take particular care to preserve the peace."

The sufferings of the dissenters began to excite compassion in the minds of the people, insomuch that their numbers visibly increased, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches since the fire of London, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to lose, ventured to go publicly to meetings in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the established clergy, and the diligence of the Nonconformist ministers, contributed very much to the increase of Nonconformists. Bishop Burnet says,* "The king was highly offended at the behaviour of most of the bishops; archbishop Sheldon and Morley, who kept close by lord Clarendon, the great patron of persecuting power, lost the king's favour; the former never recovered it, and the latter was sent from court into his diocese. When complaint was made of some disorders and conventicles, the king said the clergy were chiefly to blame, for if they had lived well, and gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the Nonconformists, the nation might have been well settled, but they thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table." In another conversation with the bishop, about the ill state of the church,† his majesty said, "If the clergy had done their parts, it had been easy to run down the Nonconform-

* Vol. 1. p. 371. 379.

† Page 380.

ists, but they will do nothing (says the king), and will have me do every thing; and most of them do worse than if they did nothing. I have a very honest chaplain (says he), to whom I have given a living in Suffolk, but he is a very great blockhead, and yet has brought all his parish to church; I cannot imagine what he could say to them, for he is a very silly fellow; but he has been about from house to house, and I suppose his nonsense has suited their nonsense; and in reward of his diligence I have given him a bishoprick in Ireland." About this time Ralph Wallis, a cobbler of Gloucester, published an account of a great number of scandalous Conformist ministers, and enumerated their scandals, to the great displeasure of the clergy; and I fear, says Mr. Baxter,* to the temptation of many Nonconformists, who might be glad of any thing to humble the Prelatists.

The learned Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the ejected minister of Allhallows, Bread-street, died this year, of whom we have given some account among the Cambridge professors; he was educated in Emanuel-college, and by his indefatigable industry rose to high reputation in the learned world for his exact acquaintance with the oriental languages; he was an able divine, an active member of the assembly at Westminster, and was taken notice of by king Charles I. at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, for his singular abilities in the debates about church-government.† He was also master of Peter-house, Cambridge, but lost all at the Restoration; he underwent strong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the month of September 1667.‡

Mr. George Hughes, B. D. the ejected minister of Plymouth, born in Southwark,§ and educated in Corpus-Christi college, in Cambridge. He was called to a lecture in London, but was silenced for nonconformity by archbishop Laud. After some time he went to Tavistock, and last of all settled at Plymouth, having institution and induction from Dr. Brownrigge, bishop of Exeter, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662, whence he was ejected a week before the act of uniformity took place. He was afterward

* Life, part 3. p. 23.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 17; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 76.

‡ He left a very valuable library, which yielded 700*l.* and was the first sold by auction in England.—*Ed.*

§ In 1603, when his mother, who had never child before, though she was now married to her fourth husband, was fifty-two years of age. She lived to her ninety-sixth year.—*Ed.*

imprisoned in St. Nicholas island, where he contracted an incurable scurvy and dropsy, which at length put an end to his life. He was well read in the fathers, an acute disputant, a most faithful pastor to a large flock under his care, and a most holy, pious, and exemplary Christian. He had the greatest interest and influence of any minister in the west country, and refused a rich bishoprick at the Restoration. He was both charitable and hospitable when it was in his power, and died at length in a most heavenly manner, in the month of July 1667, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The reverend Mr. John Howe, his son-in-law, composed a Latin epitaph for him, which is inscribed on his tomb.*

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and discontents, arising from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as the burden of the Dutch war; trade was at a stand, and great numbers of his majesty's subjects were both dispirited and impoverished by the penal laws; but that which struck all considerate men with a panic, was the danger of the Protestant interest, and the liberties of Europe, from the formidable progress of the French armies, which this very summer overrun the Spanish Flanders, and took the strong towns of Charleroy, Bergue, Aeth, Douay, Tournay, Audenard, Lisle, Courtray, Furnes, &c. which, with their dependencies, were yielded in full sovereignty to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The English court seemed unconcerned at the French conquests, till they were awakened by the clamours of the whole nation; upon this sir William Temple was sent into Holland, who in a few weeks concluded a triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which strengthened the Protestant interest while it subsisted; but the French mistresses and money could dissolve the strongest bonds.

In this critical situation of affairs abroad, some attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majesty's Protestant subjects at home, for men began to think it high time for Protestants to put a stop to the pulling down their neighbours' houses, when the common enemy was threatening the destruction of them all; therefore lord-keeper Bridgman, lord-chief-justice Hales, bishop Wilkins, Reynolds, Dr. Burton, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and others, set on foot a

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 222; or, Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 387.

comprehension of such as could be brought into the church by some abatements, and a toleration for the rest. But the project was blasted by the court-bishops, and lord Clarendon's friends, who took the alarm, and raised a mighty outcry of the danger of the church.* Nobody (say they) knows where the demands of the Presbyterians will end; the cause of the hierarchy will be given up, if any of those points are yielded which have been so much contested; besides, it is unworthy of the church to court or even treat with her enemies, when there is so little reason to apprehend that we should gain any considerable numbers thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increase of Popery and infidelity was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without sin for healing our divisions. That though the Nonconformists could not legally meet together to bring in their concessions in the name of the body, it was well enough known what they scrupled, and what would bring most of them into the church. That a compliance in some lesser matters of indifference would be no reproach, but an honour to the church, how superior soever she might be in argument or power.†

The proposals were drawn up by bishop Wilkins and Dr. Burton, and communicated by the lord-keeper to Dr. Bates, Manton, and Baxter, and by them to their brethren, under the following particulars:

1. That such ministers who in the late times had been ordained only by presbyters, should have the imposition of the hands of a bishop, with this form of words: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments in any congregation of the church of England, when thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.

2. That instead of all former subscriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they subscribe the following declaration: I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worship, and government, established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established. And I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 386, &c.

† Baxter's *Life*, part 3. p. 25.

the church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof.

3. That the gesture of kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

4. That if the liturgy and canons be altered in favour of dissenters, then every preacher upon his institution shall declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

The alterations proposed to be made in the liturgy, were these :

To read the psalms in the new translation.

To appoint lessons out of the canonical Scripture instead of the Apocrypha.

Not to enjoin godfathers and godmothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the child in baptism. To omit that expression in the prayer, "By spiritual regeneration." To change the question, "Wilt thou be baptized?" into, "Wilt thou have this child baptized?" To omit those words in the thanksgiving, "To regenerate this infant by the Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption." And the first rubric after baptism, "It is certain by God's word," &c. In the exhortation after baptism, instead of, "regenerate and grafted into the body," to say, "received into the church of Christ." No part of the office of baptism to be repeated in public when the child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this passage in the office of confirmation: "After the example of thy holy apostles, and to certify them by this sign of thy favour and gracious goodness towards them." And instead of, "Vouchsafe to regenerate," read, "Vouchsafe to receive into thy church by baptism."

To omit the expressions in matrimony, "With my body I thee worship;" and that in the collect, "Thou hast consecrated," &c.

In the visitation of the sick, ministers to be allowed to make use of such prayers as they judge expedient.*

In the burial of the dead, instead of, "Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself," &c. read, "Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty

* Baxter's Life, p. 34.

God to take out of this world the soul," &c. Instead of, "in sure and certain hope," to read, "in a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ." To omit the following words, "We give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world;" and these other, "As our hope is this our brother doth."

In the communion-service to change, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," into, "our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood."

The commination not to be enjoined.

The liturgy to be abbreviated, especially as to the morning service, by omitting all the responsal prayers, from, "O Lord, open thou," &c. to the litany; and the litany, and all the prayers, from, "Son of God, we beseech thee," &c. to, "We humbly beseech thee, O Father."

The Lord's prayer not to be enjoined more than once, viz. after the absolution, except after the minister's prayer before sermon.

The *Gloria Patri* to be used but once, after reading the Psalms.

The *Venite exultemus* to be omitted, unless it be thought fit to put any or all of the first seven among the sentences at the beginning.

The communion-service to be omitted when there are no communion-days, except the ten commandments, which may be read after the creed; and enjoining the prayer, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these laws," only once, at the end.

The collects, epistles, and gospels, to be omitted, except on particular holy days.

The prayers for the parliament to be inserted immediately after the prayer for the royal family, in this or the like form: "That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the consultations of the high court of parliament, to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the church, the safety, honour, and welfare, of our sovereign and his kingdoms."

To omit the two hymns in the consecration of bishops, and ordination of priests.

In the catechism, after the first question, "What is thy name?" It may follow, "When was this name given thee?"

After that, "What was promised for you in baptism?"

Ans. "Three things were promised for me." In the question before the commandments, it may be altered thus, "You said it was promised for you." To the fourteenth question, "How many sacraments hath Christ ordained?" the answer may be, "Two only, baptism and the Lord's supper."

Mr. Baxter proposed farther, that the subscription might be only to the doctrinal articles of the church. That the power of bishops, and their courts, to suspend and silence men, might be limited. That the baptismal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was above mentioned would not pass with the parliament.

The proposals for a toleration were communicated by Mr. Baxter to the Independents by Dr. Owen, and were to the following effect :

1. That such Protestants who could not accept of the proposals for a comprehension might have liberty for the exercise of their religion in public, and to build or to procure places for their public worship at their own charges, either within or near towns, as shall be thought most expedient.

2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty be registered, together with the congregations to which they belong; and the names of their teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty be disabled from bearing any public office, but shall fine for offices of burden.

4. Upon shewing a certificate of being listed among those that are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish-churches.

5. Such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates.

6. Provided they pay all public duties to the parish where they inhabit, under penalty of ———.

7. This indulgence to continue three years.*

According to these heads of agreement a bill was prepared for the parliament by lord-chief-justice Hales; but bishop Wilkins, an honest and open-hearted man, having disclosed the affair to bishop Ward, in hopes of his assistance, alarmed the bishops, who, instead of promoting the design, concerted measures to defeat it; for as soon as the parliament

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 25.

met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors of an act to be offered for comprehension and indulgence, upon which a vote was passed, that no man should bring such an act into the house. And, to crush the Nonconformists more effectually, archbishop Sheldon wrote a circular letter to the bishops of his province, dated June 8, to send him a particular account of the conventicles in their several dioceses, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought they might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate.* When he was provided with this information he went to the king, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution against the Nonconformists, and particularly against the preachers, according to the statute of 17th king Charles II. which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

Thus the persecution was renewed; and the parliament, still bent on severities, appointed a committee to inquire into the behaviour of the Nonconformists, who reported to the house, that divers conventicles, and other seditious meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom.† General Monk, who was near his end, and sunk almost into contempt, was employed to disperse them, and received the thanks of the house for his zeal in that important service, wherein he was sure to meet with no opposition. They also returned his majesty thanks for his proclamation for suppressing conventicles, desiring him to take the same care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the dissenters, which had been held by connivance, were broken up again. Mr. Baxter was committed to Clerkenwell-prison, for preaching to his neighbours in his own house at Acton, and for refusing the Oxford oath; but upon demanding an habeas corpus, his mittimus was declared invalid for want of naming the witnesses.‡ The justices would have mended their mittimus and sent him to Newgate, but Mr. Baxter, being released, wisely kept out of the way. Mr. Taverner of Uxbridge was sentenced to Newgate, for teaching a few children at Brentford. Mr. Button, late university-orator, was sent to prison for teaching two knights' sons in his own house; and multitudes in many counties had the like usage, suffering imprisonment for six months.§

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 382.

† Ibid. p. 139.

‡ Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 49.

§ Baxter's Life, p. 36.

But this was contrary to the king's inclinations, who was only for playing the dissenters against the parliament for a sum of money; when the house therefore was up, his majesty ordered some of the Nonconformists to be told, that he was desirous to make them easy, and that if they would petition for relief they should be favourably heard.* Sir J. Barber secretary of state acquainted Dr. Manton with the king's intention, upon which an address was drawn up and presented to his majesty at the earl of Arlington's lodgings by Dr. Jacomb, Manton, and Bates; the king received them graciously, and promised to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the establishment. He wished there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace' sake, and that he would endeavour to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous assemblies gave to clamorous people, and advised them to use their liberty with more discretion hereafter. When the ministers promised obedience, and assured his majesty of their steady loyalty, and constant prayers for the prosperity of his person and government, he dismissed them with a smile, and told them, that he was against persecution, and hoped ere long to be able to stand upon his own legs. But his majesty's promises were always to be bought off by a sum of money to support his pleasures.

The controversy of the reasonableness of toleration was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were written to expose the doctrine of the Presbyterians, as leading to antinomianism and licentiousness of manners.† Others exposed their characters and manner of preaching. Among these must be reckoned the Friendly Debate, which, though written by a good man, says bishop Burnet,‡ had an ill effect in sharpening people's spirits too much against the dissenters: the author was Dr. Simon Patrick, afterward bishop of Ely, but now in the heat of his youth; who, by aggravating some weak and unguarded expressions, endeavoured to expose the whole body of Nonconformist ministers to contempt. But I must do this prelate so much justice as to inform the reader, that in his advanced age he expressed his dissatisfaction with this part of his conduct; and, in a debate in the house of lords about the occasional bill, de-

* Baxter's Life, part 3, p. 37. 87. † Ibid. part 3. p. 39. ‡ Vol. 1. p. 382.

clared, "he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing." A rare instance of ingenuity and candour! We shall have occasion to mention sir Roger L'Estrange hereafter.

But one of the most virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was Samuel Parker, afterward bishop of Oxford, a man of considerable learning and great smartness, but of no judgment, and as little virtue; and as to religion, says bishop Burnet,* rather impious than otherwise. At length Andrew Marvel, the liveliest wit of the age, attacked him in a burlesque strain, and with so peculiar and entertaining an address, that from the king down to the tradesman, his books were read with the highest pleasure. He had all the men of wit on his side, and not only humbled Parker more than the serious and grave writings of Dr. Owen, but silenced the whole party; one of whom concludes his letter to Mr. Marvel with these words: "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Subscribed J. G.

All sober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almost out of their protection, in so ludicrous a manner."† Religion itself suffered by it. I remember, says lord-chief-justice Hales, that when Ben Jonson, in his play of the Alchymist, introduced Anartus in derision of the Puritans, with many of their phrases taken out of Scripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was detested and abhorred, because it seemed to reproach religion itself; but now, when the Presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of Scripture exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause.

But such was the complexion of the court, that they bid defiance to virtue, and even to decency, giving countenance to all manner of licentiousness. The play-houses were become nests of prostitution, says Burnet,‡ and the stage was defiled beyond example; the king, queen, and courtiers, went about in masks, and came into citizens' houses unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild frolic,

* Page 582. † Rapin, p. 406. ‡ Burnet, p. 267. 386. Rapin, p. 652.

and committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney-chairs, and none could distinguish them except those who were in the secret. Once the queen's chairman, not knowing who she was, left her to come home in a hackney-coach, some say in a cart. Buckingham, who gloried in his debaucheries, and Wilmot earl of Rochester, the greatest wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favourites. To support these extravagances the house of commons supplied the king with what money he wanted, and were themselves so mercenary, that the purchase of every man's vote was known; for as a man rose in credit in the house, he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

The university was no less corrupt; there was a general licentiousness of manners among the students: the sermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and satires against the Nonconformists; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion, were unfashionable. The speeches and panegyrics pronounced by the orators and *terræ filius*, on public occasions, were scurrilous, and little less than blasphemous; as appears by the letter in the margin from Mr. Wallis, to the honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.* of the proceedings at the opening of archbishop Sheldon's theatre, which is copied verbatim from the original under his own hand.

About this time died the reverend Mr. Matthew Newcomen, M. A. the ejected minister of Dedham in Essex; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and succeeded the famous Mr. John Rogers. He was a most accomplished scholar and Christian, a member of the assembly

* *A Letter from Mr. John Wallis to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.
dated from Oxford, July 17, 1669.*

SIR,

After my humble thanks for the honour of yours of July 3, I thought it not unfit to give you some account of our late proceedings here. Friday, July 9, was the dedication of our new theatre. In the morning was held a convocation in it, for entering upon the possession of it; wherein was read, first the archbishop's instrument of donation (sealed with his archiepiscopal seal) of the theatre, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's-church may not be farther profaned by holding the act in it. Next a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2,000*l.* for a purchase to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the university to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our creator and redeemer, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, delivered the blessed Virgin from being so profaned for the future: he doth, as the words of the letter are, "*non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere.*" These words, I confess, stopped my mouth from giving a placet to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. Vice-chancellor to consider, whether they were not liable to a just

of divines, and together with Dr. Arrowsmith and Tuckney, drew up their catechism.* He was one of the commissioners of the Savoy, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not desert his church at Dedham, till he was displaced by the act of uniformity; after which he retired to Holland, and became pastor of the English church at Leyden, where he died about this time, universally lamented by the professors, for his humble and pleasant conversation as well as his universal learning and piety.†

Mr. Joseph Allein, the ejected minister‡ of Taunton; and

exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon farther thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. South, as university-orator, made a long oration; the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, the Royal Society, and new philosophy. The next of encomiastics; in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last of execrations; against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy; damning them, *ad inferos ad gehennam*. The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved. The afternoon was spent in panegyric orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c. and crying down fanatics. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental; purposely composed for this occasion. On Saturday and Monday, those exercises appertaining to the act and vespers, which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's church, were had in the theatre. In which, beside the number of proceeding doctors (nine in divinity, four in law, five in physic, and one in music), there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terre filius* for both days were abominably scurrilous; and so suffered without the least check or interruption from vice-chancellor, pro-vice-chancellors, proctors, curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises; which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all or most of the heads of houses, and eminent persons in the university, with their relations, being represented as a company of whoremasters, whores, and dunces. And, among the rest, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadest language, represented as guilty of those crimes, of which (if there were occasion) you would not stick to be her compargator; and (if it had been so) she might (yet) have been called whore in much more civil language. During this solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the vice-chancellor's allowance) two stage-plays in a day (by those of the duke of York's house) at a theatre erected for that purpose at the town-hall; which (for aught I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks (before, at, and since, the act) that the vice-chancellor had given 300*l.* bond (some say 500*l.* bond) to the *terre filius*, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason. But this I take to be a slander. A less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since the act (to satisfy the common clamour) the vice-chancellor hath imprisoned both of them: and it is said he means to expel them. I am, Sir,

Your honour's very humble and affectionate servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

* I have by me a copy of Mr. Neal's History, which was formerly the property of the Rev. John Waldron, a dissenting minister in Exeter, who has written in the margin, here, this note. "I have been assured by Mr. Edward Parr, an ejected minister, who lived with Dr. Gouge, that he drew up the catechism. J. W."—Ed.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 294. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 503.

‡ To speak with accuracy, Mr. Allein was only assistant to Mr. George Newton the minister of Taunton. Dr. Grey.—Ed.

author of the *Call to the Unconverted*, was born at Devizes in Wiltshire, and educated in Lincoln-college, Oxon. He was public preacher in the church of Taunton about seven years, and was universally beloved for his great piety and devotion. After his ejection, he preached as he had opportunity six or seven times a week. May 26, 1663, he was committed to Ilchester-jail, for singing psalms in his own house, and preaching to his family, others being present: here he continued a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. July 10, 1665, he was committed a second time to jail with several other ministers and forty private persons; where he contracted such distempers and weaknesses as brought him to his grave before he was thirty-six years of age.* He was an awakening, lively preacher, zealous and successful in his Master's work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet spirit. He died in the year 1668 or 1669.

The tide in the house of commons still run very strong on the side of persecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauses added to the conventicle-act, which, having expired some time since, was now revived by the parliament which met October 19. The court went into it with a view of reducing the Presbyterians to the necessity of petitioning for a general toleration. "If we would have opened the door to let in Popery (says Mr. Baxter†), that their toleration might have been charged upon us, as ~~done~~ for our sakes, and by our procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our part in it; but I never shall be one of them who, by any new pressures, shall consent to petition for the Papist's liberty; no craft of Jesuits or prelates shall make me believe, that it is necessary for the Nonconformists to take this odium upon themselves."‡ The court-bishops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were against it. Bishop Wilkins spoke against it in the house; and when the king desired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy, therefore as he was an Englishman, and a bishop, he was bound to oppose it: and since by the laws and constitution of England, and by his majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 374. Palmer, vol 2. p. 377.

† Part 3. p. 36.

‡ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 400.

matter. However, the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent April 11, 1670.* It was to the following effect: "That if any persons upwards of sixteen years shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, where there are five persons or more present, besides those of the said household, in such cases the offender shall pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second. And the preachers or teachers in any such meetings shall forfeit twenty pounds for the first and forty for the second offence. And lastly, those who knowingly suffer any such conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, &c. shall forfeit twenty pounds. Any justice of peace, on the oath of two witnesses, or any other sufficient proof, may record the offence under his hand and seal, which record shall be taken in law for a full and perfect conviction, and shall be certified at the next quarter sessions. The fines above mentioned may be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels, and in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person or persons, that shall be convicted of having been present at the said conventicle, at the discretion of the justice of peace, so as the sum to be levied on any one person, in case of the poverty of others, do not amount to above ten pounds for any one meeting: the constables, headboroughs, &c. are to levy the same by warrant from the justice, and to be divided, one third for the use of the king, another third for the poor, and the other third to the informer or his assistants, regard being had to their diligence and industry in discovering, dispersing, and punishing, the said conventicles. The fines upon ministers for preaching are to be levied also by distress; and in case of poverty, upon the goods and chattels of any other present; and the like upon the house where the conventicle is held, and the money to be divided as above.

"And it is farther enacted, that the justice or justices of peace, constables, headboroughs, &c. may by warrant, with what aid, force, and assistance, they shall think necessary, break open, and enter into, any house or place where they shall be informed of the conventicle, and take the persons

* Rapin, p. 655.

into custody.—And the lieutenants, or other commissioned officers of the militia, may get together such force and assistance as they think necessary, to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such unlawful meetings, and take the persons into custody.” Then follow two extraordinary clauses: “That if any justice of peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds.

“And be it farther enacted, that all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof. No warrant or mittimus shall be made void, or reversed, for any default in the form; and if a person fly from one county or corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be seizable wherever they are found. If the party offending be a wife cohabiting with her husband, the fine shall be levied on the goods and chattels of the husband, provided the prosecution be within three months.”

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing, short of capital punishment, more cruel and inhuman.* One would have thought a prince of so much clemency as Charles II. who had often declared against persecution, should not have consented to it, and that no Christian bishop should have concurred in the passing it. Men’s houses are to be plundered, their persons imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of informers; and others, to live upon the labour and industry of their conscientious neighbours.† Multitudes of these infamous wretches spent their profits in ill houses, and upon lewd women, and then went about the streets again to hunt for farther prey. The law is to be construed in their favour, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual justice of peace, who is to be fined 5*l.* if he refuses his warrant. Upon this, many honest men, who would not be the instru-

* This iniquitous law, by the power with which it invested a single justice, destroyed the bulwark of English liberty, the trial by jury. It punished the innocent for the guilty, by subjecting the husband to a penalty for the conduct of the wife, and the goods of any person present to fines, which other offenders were incompetent to discharge. The mode of conviction was clandestine. Its natural tendency was to influence magistrates to partiality in judgment, and to reverse the scriptural qualification for magistracy to the encouragement of evil-doers, and the punishment of those who do well; by the fines it imposed on justices and on officers, and by the sanction it gave to informers. Gough’s *History of the Quakers*, vol. 2. p. 298, 299.—Ed.

† Burnet, p. 398.

ments of such severities, quitted the bench. Mr. Echard, being ashamed to ascribe these cruelties to the influence of the bishop, says, "that this and all the penal laws made against the dissenters were the acts of parliament, and not of the church, and were made more on a civil and political, than upon a moral or religious account; and always upon some fresh provocation in reality or appearance." This is the language by which the patrons of high-church cruelty endeavour to excuse themselves from the guilt of persecution; but it must fall somewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, cast entirely upon the legislature, and put upon the score of sedition, whereas it was well known the dissenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from disturbing the state. Nor does the preamble to the act charge them with disloyalty, but only says, "that for the providing speedy remedies against the practice of seditious sectaries, and others, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections,* be it enacted," &c. as if it was possible to do this in the company of women and servants, who were always present in their assemblies. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled purely against liberty of conscience, and was so severely executed, that, as sir Harry Capel observes, there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England. The two houses, says our church historian,† were express for the execution of these laws; the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in it, and the honest justices and magistrates, as he calls them, bore the more hard upon them, because they saw them so bold in despising and evading the justice of the nation.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many ministers

* "These words, as late experience has shewn, were silyly omitted," says Dr. Grey, who adds, "Here he (Mr. Neal) injuriously lays the blame upon the bishops, as if the king and the two houses were wholly under their direction and influence; and treats Mr. Archdeacon Echard not over-civilly for being of a contrary opinion." The first censure in this paragraph is not very civil in Dr. Grey; nor does it appear well grounded, since Mr. Neal has inserted so much of the paragraph as charges the sectaries with having contrived insurrections. Nor does Mr. Neal lay the whole blame upon the bishops, for he says, "the two houses were for the execution of these laws;" though, it is true, indeed, he is not willing that the guilt should be cast entirely upon the legislature; for "the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in this business of persecution."—ED.

† Page 286.

were confined in jails and close prisons ; and warrants were issued out against them and their hearers, whereby great sums of money were levied. In the diocess of Salisbury the persecution was hottest, by the instigation of bishop Ward ; many hundreds being pursued with great industry, and driven from their families and trades.* The act was executed with such severity in Starling's mayoralty, that many of the trading men in the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the king put a stop to it.† Informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon ministers and people. Soldiers broke into the houses of honest farmers, under pretence of searching for conventicles, and, where ready money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them for half-price. Many were plundered of their household furniture ; the sick had their beds taken from under them, and themselves laid on the floor. Should I sum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have received, says Mr. Sewel,‡ it would make a volume of itself. These vile creatures were not only encouraged, but pushed on vehemently by their spiritual guides: for this purpose archbishop Sheldon sent another circular letter to all the bishops in his province, dated May 7, 1670, in which he directs all ecclesiastical judges and officers, "to take notice of all Nonconformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors, of conventicles, especially of the preachers or teachers in them, and of the places wherein they are held ; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the cities and greater towns, from whence the mischief is for the most part derived unto the lesser villages and hamlets. And wheresoever they find such wilful offenders, that then with a hearty affection to the worship of God, the honour of the king and his laws, and the peace of the king and his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil magistrate, justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late act in that behalf made and set forth.—And now, my lord, what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty; yet,

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 332.

† Burnet, p. 398.

‡ Sewel, p. 493.

my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the act contains for our advantage, we shall in a few months see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as that the seduced people returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers to the unity of the church, and uniformity of God's worship, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom." Can this be the language of a Christian and Protestant bishop; or is it not more like a father of the inquisition, or the dragooning commission of Lewis XIV. when he revoked the edict of Nantz?*

Copies of this letter were sent by the archdeacons to the officers of the several parishes within their jurisdictions, earnestly exhorting them to take especial care, to perform whatsoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next visitation. Many of the bishops chose to lie behind the curtain, and throw off the odium from themselves to the civil magistrate; but some of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in person, as bishop Ward, already mentioned, and bishop Gunning,† who often disturbed the meetings in person: once finding the doors shut, he ordered the constable to break them open with a sledge; another time he sat upon the bench at the quarter-sessions, upon which the chairman desired his lordship to give the charge, which he refusing received a very handsome rebuke; it being hardly consistent with one that is an ambassador of the Prince of peace, to sit in judgment upon the consciences of his poor countrymen and neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces.‡ The bishop was so zealous in the cause, that he sunk his character by giving a public challenge to the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, and appointed three days for the disputation;

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. 1. p. 328.

† Henshaw, the bishop of Peterborough, declared publicly in the church at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution, "Against all fanatics it hath done its business, except the Quakers: but when the parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bondslaves." On this Mr. Gough properly asks, "Who can acquit the church so called of their share in the persecution, when the rulers thereof were so intemperately warm and active in it, and still insatiate with all these severities, inhumanly planning more and greater." History, vol. 2. p. 303.—Ed.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 692.

on the first of which his lordship went into the pulpit in the church, where was a considerable congregation, and charged the former with sedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply.* When the day came to dispute with the Quakers, they summoned their friends, and when the bishop railed, they paid him in his own coin; and followed him to his very house with repeated shouts, "The hireling fieth."

The Nonconformist ministers did what they could to keep themselves within the compass of the law; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would come; and at other times, in places where people might hear in several adjoining houses; but after all, infinite mischiefs ensued, families were impoverished and divided; friendship between neighbours was interrupted; there was a general distrust and jealousy of each other; and sometimes upon little quarrels, servants would betray their masters, and throw their affairs into distraction. Among others that suffered at this time was Dr. Manton, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, just as he had done sermon, the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the justice and his attendants rushed in and went up stairs; they stayed till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then wrote down the names of the principal persons present, and took the doctor's promise to come to them at a house in the piazzas of Covent-Garden, where they tendered him the Oxford oath, upon his refusal of which, he was committed prisoner to the Gate-house; where he continued till he was released by the indulgence. At another time his meeting-house in White-Hart Yard was broken up; the place was fined 40*l.* and the minister 20*l.*, which was paid by lord Wharton, who was then present; they also took down the names of the hearers, for the benefit of the justices of peace and spiritual courts.

The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom.† They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 334.

† Burnet, p. 398.

petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison-fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed nor afraid to disown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness, but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much perverseness.*

On the 1st of September, 1670, two of their principal speakers, Wm. Penn and Wm. Mead, were tried at the Old-Bailey, for an unlawful and tumultuous assembly in the open street, wherein they spake or preached to the people, who were assembled in Gracechurch-street, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the king's laws, and to the disturbance of the peace. The prisoners pleaded Not guilty, but met with some of the severest usage that has been known in an English court of justice. They were fined forty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witnesses, that there was an assembly in Gracechurch-street, but there was neither riot, nor tumult, nor force of arms. Mr. Penn confessed they were so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling themselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth should not be able to divert them from it. When it was said, they were not arraigned for worshipping God, but for breaking the law, William Penn affirmed he had broken no law, and

* A respectable member of the society of Quakers has remarked, with propriety and force, on this language of bishop Burnet, "that had he concluded with the word perseverance instead of perverseness, his description had been less objectionable, as being nearer the truth. The prejudice discovered by that dignified prelate against this people tarnished his reputation as a faithful historian, and as a man; as a true son of the church, it is not much to be wondered, when it is considered that they, rejecting its honours and its revenues, struck at the root of the hierarchy: whilst other dissenters, in general, contending chiefly about rites and ceremonies, manifested little or no objection to that grand support, pecuniary emolument; as their practice in common, particularly during the interregnum, incontestably proved." *A Letter to the Editor.*—Ed.

challenged the recorder to tell him upon what law he was prosecuted. The recorder answered, upon the common law, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. Penn insisted upon his producing the law, but the court overruled him, and called him a troublesome fellow. Penn replied, "I design no affront to the court, but if you deny to acquaint me with the law you say I have broken, you deny me the right that is due to every Englishman, and evidence to the whole world that your designs are arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the bar into the bail-dock. As he was going out, he said to the jury, "If these fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property must not be indispensably maintained, who can say he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies."

William Mead, being left alone at the bar, said, "You men of the jury, I am accused of meeting by force of arms, in a tumultuous manner.—Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and therefore demand to know upon what law my indictment is founded; if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, Coke will tell him, that it is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's lands, to cut his grass or wood, or break down his pales." Upon this the recorder, having lost all patience, pulled off his hat, and said, I thank you, sir, for telling me what the law is. Mead replied, Thou mayest put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The mayor Starling told him, he deserved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewise to be carried to the bail-dock.

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which William Penn stood up, and with a loud voice said, "I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman, to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners?" The recorder answered with a sneer, Ye are present, ye do hear, do ye not? Penn

answered, "No thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard." The recorder said, "Pull him down; pull the fellow down." Mead replied, these were barbarous and unjust proceedings; and then they were both thrust into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the prisoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they used many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. Bushel, whom they charged with being the cause of the disagreement. At length, after withdrawing a second time, they agreed to bring them in guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them, they should be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they should starve, unless they brought in a proper verdict. William Penn being at the bar, said, "My jury ought not to be thus threatened. We were by force of arms kept out of our meeting-house, and met as near it as the soldiers would give us leave. We are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man." And looking upon the jury, he said, "You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right." To which some of them answered, "Nor will we ever do it." Upon this they were shut up all night without victuals or fire, or so much as a chamber-pot, though desired. Next morning they brought in the same verdict; upon which they were threatened with the utmost resentments. The mayor said, he would cut Bushel's throat as soon as he could. The recorder said, he never knew the benefit of an inquisition till now; and that the next sessions of parliament a law would be made wherein those that would not conform should not have the benefit of the law.* The court having obliged the jury to withdraw again, they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the prisoners not guilty; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be im-

* The speech of the recorder, it appears by a quotation from the "State Trials" in a late publication, was fuller and stronger than Mr. Neal's abridged form represents it. "Till now (said this advocate for arbitrary power), I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the inquisition among them, and certainly it will never be well with us till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England." *Stuart's Peace and Reform against War and Corruption*, p. 63, note; and Gough's *History of the Quakers*, vol. 2. p. 336.—Ed.

prisoned till paid. The prisoners were also remanded to Newgate for their fines in not pulling off their hats.* The jury, after some time, were discharged by habeas corpus returnable in the common-pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble stand for the liberty of the subject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing. The conventicle-act was made to encourage prosecutions; and a narrative was published next year, of the oppressions of many honest people in Devonshire, and other parts, by the informers and justices; but the courts of justice outran the law itself.

Hitherto the king and parliament had agreed pretty well by means of the large supplies of money the parliament had given to support his majesty's pleasures; but now having assurance of large remittances from France, his majesty resolved to govern by the prerogative, and stand upon his own legs.† His prime counsellors were, lord Clifford, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward lord Shaftesbury, the duke of Buckingham, earl of Arlington, and duke Lauderdale, who from the initial letters of their names were called the CABAL. Lord Clifford was an open Papist, and the earl of Arlington a concealed one. Buckingham was a debauchee, and reputed a downright Atheist; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of sounder principles in the interests of humanity, says Mr. Baxter, than the rest of the court. Shaftesbury had a vast genius, but, according to Burnet, at best was a Deist; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change sides as his interest directed. Lauderdale was a man of learning, and from an almost republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate councils. He had scarcely any

* The prisoners excepted to this fine, as being arbitrarily imposed, in violation of the great charter of England, which saith, "No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." The name of the judge, before whom the case of the jury was solemnly argued in the court of common-pleas, and by whom it was judged illegal, was sir John Vaughan, then chief-justice: a name which deserves to be mentioned in this connexion with peculiar respect, and to be perpetuated by Englishmen with gratitude. For this adjudication confirmed in the strongest manner the rights of juries, and secured them from the attack of arbitrary and unprincipled judges. Sir John Vaughan was a man of excellent parts, and not only versed in all the knowledge requisite to make a figure in his profession, but he was also a very considerable master of the politer kinds of learning. He was the intimate friend of the great Selden, and was buried in the Temple-church, as near as possible to his remains. He died in 1674. His son published his Reports, in which is the above case. *Gough*, vol. 2. p. 336. *British Biography*, vol. 7. p. 130, 131; and *Granger's History*, vol. 3. p. 369.—Ed.

† Echard, p. 864. Rapin, p. 655.

traces of religion remaining, though he called himself a Presbyterian, and had an aversion to king Charles I. to the last. By these five ministers of state the king and duke of York drove on their designs of introducing Popery and arbitrary power; in order to which, a secret treaty was concluded with France; the triple alliance was broken, and a new war declared with the Dutch to destroy their commonwealth, as will be seen presently. By this means the king had a plausible pretence to keep up a standing army, which might secure him in the exercise of an absolute authority over his subjects, to set aside the use of parliaments, and settle the Roman-Catholic religion in the three kingdoms. These were the maxims the court pursued throughout the remaining part of this reign.

In the beginning of this year died Dr. Anthony Tuckney,* born in September 1599, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge. He was afterward vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued till he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster. In the year 1645, he was made master of his college, and in the year 1648, being chosen vice-chancellor, he removed to Cambridge with his family. He was afterward master of St. John's and regius professor, which he held till the Restoration, when the king sent him a letter, desiring him to resign his professorship, which if he did, his majesty, in consideration of the great pains and diligence of the said doctor in the discharge of his duty, would oblige his successor to give him sufficient security in law, to pay him 100*l.* a year during his natural life. Upon this notice the doctor immediately resigned, and had his annuity paid him by Dr. Gunning, who succeeded him.

* To what is said concerning Dr. Tuckney by Mr. Neal, and before in the note to p. 104, vol. 3, it is proper to add two facts which are much to his honour. One is, that in his elections at St. John's, when the president, according to the language and spirit of the times, would call upon him to have regard to the godly, his answer was, "No one should have a greater regard to the truly godly than himself; but he was determined to choose none but scholars:" adding very wisely, "They may deceive me in their godliness; they cannot in their scholarship." The other fact is, that though he is said to have had a great hand in composing the confession and catechisms of the assembly at Westminster, and in particular drew up the exposition of the commandments in the larger catechism; yet he voted against subscribing or swearing to the confession, &c. set out by authority. This conduct the more deserves notice and commendation, because the instances of a consistent adherence to the principles of religious liberty among those who were struggling for liberty, were so few and rare in that age. In the year 1753, Dr. Samuel Salter, prebendary of Norwich, published a correspondence between Dr. Tuckney and Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, on several very interesting subjects. See Whichcote's Moral and Religious Aphorisms, *præface the second*, p. 15.—Ed.

After the coming out of the five-mile act he shifted about in several counties, and at last died in Spittle-yard, London, February 1669, in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, an indefatigable student, a candid disputant, and an earnest promoter of truth and godliness.*

About the same time died Mr. William Bridge, M. A. the ejected minister of Yarmouth; he was student in Cambridge thirteen years, and fellow of Emanuel-college. He afterward settled in Norwich, where he was silenced by bishop Wren for nonconformity, 1637. He was afterward excommunicated; and when the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* came out against him he withdrew to Holland, and became pastor to the English church at Rotterdam, where Mr. Jer. Burroughs was preacher. In 1642, he returned to England, and was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly of divines. He was chosen after some time minister of Great Yarmouth, where he continued his labours till the Bartholomew act ejected him with his brethren.† He was a good scholar, and had a well-furnished library, was a hard student, and rose every morning winter and summer at four of the clock. He was also a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his ministry.‡ He died at Yarmouth, March 12, 1670, ætat. seventy.

While the Protestant dissenters were harassed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman Catholics were at ease under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no processes against them, for they had the liberty of resorting to mass at the houses of foreign ambassadors, and other chapels, both in town and country; nor did the bishops complain of them in the house of lords, by which means they began in a few years to rival the Protestants both in strength and numbers. The commons represented the causes of this misfortune in an address to the king, together with the remedies, which if

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 77; or, Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 205.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 478. Palmer, vol. 2. p. 208.

‡ In Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* is a letter of William Bridge to Henry Scobel, Esq. clerk of the council, about augmenting the income of preachers, with the names of the Independent ministers of prime note in the county of Norfolk. This shews that he was a leading man among the Independents. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 44. Dr. Grey imputes to Mr. Bridge a republican spirit, because, in a sermon before the commons, he said, "The king must not only command according to God's law, but man's laws; and if he don't so command, resistance is not resistance of power but of will. To say, that such resistance must only be defensive, is nonsense; for so a man may be ever resisting, and never resist." Grey, vol. 1. p. 181.

the reader will carefully consider, he will easily discover the different usage of Protestant Nonconformists and Popish recusants.*

The causes of the increase of Popery were, 1. The great number of Jesuits who were all over the kingdom. 2. The chapels in great towns for saying mass, besides ambassadors' houses, whither great numbers of his majesty's subjects resorted without control. 3. The fraternities or convents of priests and Jesuits at St. James's, and in several parts of the kingdom, besides their schools for the educating youth. 4. The public sale of Popish catechisms, &c. 5. The general remissness of magistrates, and other officers, in not convicting Papists according to law. 6. Suspected recusants enjoying offices by themselves or their deputies. 7. Presentations to livings by Popish recusants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending youth beyond sea under tutors, to be educated in the Popish religion. 9. The few exchequer processes that have been issued forth, though many have been certified thither. 10. The great insolence of Papists in Ireland, where archbishops and bishops of the pope's creation appear publicly, mass being said openly in Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom.

The remedies which the house proposed against these growing mischiefs were,

1. That a proclamation be issued out to banish all Popish priests and Jesuits out of the realm, except such as attend the queen and foreign ambassadors.
2. That the king's subjects be forbid going to hear mass and other exercises of the Romish religion.
3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of Popish recusants.
4. That all fraternities, convents, and Popish schools, be abolished, and the Jesuits, priests, friars, and schoolmasters, punished.
5. That his majesty require all the officers of the exchequer, to issue out processes against Popish recusants convict, certified thither.
6. That Plunket the pretended primate of Ireland, and Talbot archbishop of Dublin, be sent for into England, to answer such matters as should be objected against them.

The king promised to consider the address, but hoped they would allow him to distinguish between new converts, and those who had been bred up in the Popish religion, and

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 658.

served him and his father in the late wars. After some time a proclamation was issued, in which his majesty declares, that he had always adhered to the true religion established in this kingdom against all temptations whatsoever; and that he would employ his utmost care and zeal in its defence. But the magistrates, knowing his majesty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the duke of York the king's brother, having lately lost his dutchess, lord Clarendon's daughter, who died a Papist,* made a formal abjuration of the Protestant religion at this time before father Simon, an English Jesuit, publicly declaring himself a Roman Catholic; the reason of which was, that the present queen having no children, the Papists gave the duke to understand, that they were capable to effect his majesty's divorce, and to set aside his succession, by providing him with another queen, which they would certainly attempt, unless he would make an open profession of the Roman-Catholic religion, which he did accordingly.

The house of commons was very lavish of the nation's money this session, for though there was no danger of an invasion from abroad, they voted the king 2,500,000*l.* with which his majesty maintained a standing army, and called the parliament no more together for almost two years. After the houses were up, the cabal began to prosecute their scheme of making the king absolute; in order to which, beside the 2,500,000*l.* granted by parliament, they received from France the sum of 700,000*l.* in two years, which not being sufficient to embark in a war with the Dutch, the king declared in council, by the advice of Clifford, that he was resolved to shut up the exchequer, wherein the bankers of London (who had furnished the king with money on all occasions at great interest) had lodged vast sums of other people's cash deposited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a stop,

* This Dr. Grey is unwilling to admit, though he owns that Monsieur Mainborough published, in French, her declaration for renouncing the Protestant religion, and he quotes largely from Dr. Richard Watson, a celebrated English divine, who published an answer to it. The amount of his defence of the dutchess, as it appears in this quotation, is, that when on account of her illness the worship of her oratory had been deserted, it was renewed again by her order, and the doors of her chamber, which was adjoining to it, were opened that she might hear the prayers; and that the bishop of Oxford was sent for to administer the sacrament to her. In opposition to this, which rises to presumptive evidence only, and in support of Mr. Neal, it may be added, that sir John Reresby says, that she died with her last breath declaring herself a Papist." *Memoirs*, p. 19.—*Ed.*

which interrupted the course of trade, and raised a great clamour over the whole kingdom. The king endeavoured to soften the bankers, by telling them it should be only for a year, and that he would pay the arrears out of the next subsidies of parliament; but he was worse than his word; so that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the king gained about 1,400,000*l*.

A second advance of the cabal towards arbitrary power, was to destroy the Dutch commonwealth; for this purpose the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The earl of Shaftesbury used this expression in his speech to the parliament for justifying the war, *Delenda est Carthago*, that is, "The Dutch commonwealth must be destroyed:" but an occasion was wanting to justify it to the world. There had been a few scurrilous prints and medals struck in Holland, reflecting on the king's amours, below the notice of the English court, which the Dutch however had caused to be destroyed. Complaints were also revived of the insolence of the Dutch in the East-Indies, and of the neglect of striking the flag in the narrow seas to the king's yacht, passing by the Dutch fleet. The cabal managed these complaints like men who were afraid of receiving satisfaction, or of giving the adversary any umbrage to prepare for the storm. The Dutch therefore, relying on the faith of treaties, pursued their traffic without fear; but when their rich Smyrna fleet of merchantmen, consisting of seventy-two sail, under convoy of six men-of-war, passed by the Isle of Wight, the English fleet fell upon them and took several of their ships, without any previous declaration of war; a breach of faith (says Burnet) which Mahometans and pirates would have been ashamed of.*

Two days after the attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, the cabal made the third advance towards Popery and absolute power, by advising the king to suspend the penal laws against all sorts of Nonconformists. It was now resolved to set the dissenters against the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord Shaftesbury first proposed it in council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the Roman Catholics might be included; but when the declaration was

* Vol. 2. p. 16. 12mo.

prepared, the lord-keeper Bridgman refused to put the seal to it, as judging it contrary to law, for which he was dismissed, and the seals given to the earl of Shaftesbury, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the service of the church of England.* “As for the church (says his lordship), I conceive the declaration is extremely for their interest; for the narrow bottom they have placed themselves upon, and the measures they have proceeded by, so contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, must needs in a short time prove fatal to them; whereas this leads them into another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting and different Protestants, both at home and abroad;” which was true if both had not been undermined by the Papists.† Archbishop Sheldon, Morley, and the rest of their party, exclaimed loudly against the indulgence, and alarmed the whole nation, insomuch that many sober and good men, who had long feared the growth of Popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earnest; but it appeared afterward that their chief concern was for the spiritual power; for though they murmured against the dispensing power, they fell in with all their other proceedings; which, if Providence had not miraculously interposed, must have been fatal to the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe.

At length the declaration having been communicated to the French king, and received his approbation, was published, bearing date March 15, 1671—2, to the following effect:‡

“CHARLES REX.

“Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interests of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our govern-

* History of the Stuarts, p. 566.

† Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

‡ The bishops took the alarm at this declaration: and charged their clergy to preach against Popery. The pulpits were full of a new strain: it was every where preached against, and the authority of the laws was magnified. The king complained to Sheldon, that controversy was preached, as if on purpose to inflame the people; and alienate them from him and his government; and Sheldon, apprehensive that the king might again press him on this subject, convened some of the clergy, to consult with them what answer to make to his majesty. Dr. Tillotson suggested this reply: “That since the king himself professed the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it.” Burnet’s History, vol. 2. p. 17. 12mo. ed. and Birch’s Life of Tillotson, p. 41.—ED.

ment since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so, by several statutes and acts of parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government; as also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and seditious conventicles.

“ And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning, and intention, to be, that the church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline, and government, as now it stands established by law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and standard, of the general and public worship of God, and that the orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto, and that no person, though of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from paying his tithes, or other dues whatsoever. And farther we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment of any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not exactly conformable.

“ We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of Non-conformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended; and all judges, judges of assize, and jail-delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereto.

“ And that there may be no pretence for any of our sub-

jects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in order to their public worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons.

“But to prevent such disorders and inconveniences as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated; and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate; our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such places be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved, by us.

“And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do farther declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of the public places of worship, and approbation of the preachers, shall extend to all sorts of Nonconformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman-Catholic religion, to whom we shall in nowise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

“And if, after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline, or government, of the established church, or shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity. And we will let them see, we can be as severe to punish such offenders when so justly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.

“Given at our court at Whitehall this 15th day of March, in the four-and-twentieth year of our reign.”

The Protestant Nonconformists had no opinion of the dispensing power, and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way; they were sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it would serve the interest of Popery. “The beginning of the Dutch war (says one of their writers) made the court think it necessary to grant them an indulgence, that there

might be peace at home while there was war abroad, though much to the dissatisfaction of those who had a hand in framing all the severe laws against them.* Many pamphlets were written for and against the dissenters accepting it, because it was grafted on the dispensing power. Some maintained, that it was setting up altar against altar, and that they should accept of nothing but a comprehension. Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the duty of the Presbyterians to make use of the liberty granted them by the king, because it was their natural right, which no legislative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful subjects; that meeting in separate congregations distinct from the parochial assemblies, in the present circumstances was neither schismatical nor sinful.† Accordingly most of the ministers, both in London and in the country, took out licences, a copy of which I have transcribed from under the king's own hand and seal in the margin.‡ Great numbers of people attended the meetings, and a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the king for their liberty, but all were afraid of the consequences.

It was reported farther, that the court encouraged the Nonconformists, by some small pensions of 50 and 100*l.* to the chief of their party; that Mr. Baxter returned the money, but that Mr. Pool acknowledged he had received 50*l.* for two years, and that the rest accepted it.§ This was reported to the disadvantage of the dissenters by Dr. Stillingfleet and others, with an insinuation that it was to bribe them to be silent, and join interest with the Papists; but Dr. Owen, in answer to this part of the charge, in his preface to a book entitled, *An Inquiry, &c. against Dr. Stillingfleet*, declares, that "it is such

* Baxter, part 3. p. 99. Welwood's Mem. p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 102, ¶

‡ CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all mayors, bailiffs, constables, and others our officers and ministers civil and military whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our declaration of the 15th of March 1671—2, we do hereby permit and license G. S. ——— of the Congregational persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his house in ——— for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, who are of that persuasion commonly called Congregational, with farther licence and permission to him the said G. S. ——— to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration.

Given at our court at Whitehall the second day of May, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign, 1672. By his majesty's command,

ARLINGTON.

§ Burnet, vol. 2. p. 16, 17.

¶ The editor cannot meet with these passages in Welwood's Memoirs, 6th edition.

a frontless malicious lie, as impudence itself would blush at; that, however the dissenters may be traduced, they are ready to give the highest security that can be of their stability in the Protestant cause; and for myself (says he) never any person in authority, dignity, or power, in the nation, nor any from them, Papist or Protestant, did ever speak or advise with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to Papists, and I challenge the whole world to prove the contrary. From this indulgence Dr. Stillingfleet dates the beginning of the Presbyterian separation.

This year died Dr. Edmund Staunton, the ejected minister of Kingston-upon-Thames, one of the assembly of divines, and some time president of Corpus-Christi-college in Oxford. He was son of sir Francis Staunton, born at Woburn in Bedfordshire 1601, and educated in Wadham-college, of which he was a fellow.* Upon his taking orders, he became minister of Bushy in Hertfordshire, but changed it afterward for Kingston-upon-Thames. In 1634 he took the degrees in divinity, and in 1648 was made president of Corpus-Christi-college, which he kept till he was silenced for nonconformity. He then retired to Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, and afterward to a village in that county called Bovingden, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable divine. In his last sickness he said he neither feared death nor desired life, but was willing to be at God's disposal. He died July 14, 1671, and was buried in the church belonging to the parish.†

Mr. Vavasor Powell was born in Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus-college Oxon. When he left the university he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646 he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr. Herle and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those

* Dr. Staunton in 1615 became a commoner of Wadham-college; on the 4th of October, in the same year, was admitted scholar of Corpus-Christi-college: and afterward fellow, and M. A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 352; and Dr. Grey.—*En.*

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 63. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 173.

parts. There were few, if any, of the churches or chapels in Wales in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the poor Welsh in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a stipend of 100*l.* per annum, besides the advantage of some sequestered livings in North Wales (says my author), which, in those times of confusion, turned but to a very poor account. Mr. Powell was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching against the protectorship of Cromwell, and wrote letters to him, for which he was imprisoned, to prevent his spreading disaffection in the state. At the dawn of the Restoration, being known to be a fifth-monarchy man, he was secured first at Shrewsbury, afterward in Wales, and at last in the Fleet. In the year 1668 he was shut up in South-sea-castle near Portsmouth, where he continued five years. In 1667 he was released, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was imprisoned at Cardiff, and in the year 1669 sent up to London, and confined a prisoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields, in the presence of an innumerable crowd of dissenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquerable resolution, and of a mind unshaken under all his troubles. The inscription on his tomb calls him "a successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and a useful example to the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful, for which being called to many prisons, he was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection." He died October 27, 1671, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the eleventh year of his imprisonment.*

* To Mr. Neal's account of Mr. Vavasor Powell it may be added, that he was born in 1617, and descended from an ancient and honourable stock: on his father's side, from the Powells of Knocklas in Radnorshire; and on his mother's, from the Vavasors, a family of great antiquity, that came out of Yorkshire into Wales, and was related to the principal gentry in North Wales. So active and laborious was he in the duties of the ministry, that he frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in the week, throughout the year, out of the pulpit. He would sometimes ride a hundred miles in the week, and preach in every place where he could gain admittance, either by night or day. He would often alight from his horse, and set on it any aged person whom he met with on the road on foot, and walk by the side for miles together. He was exceedingly hospitable and generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged. He was a man of great humility, very conscientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. He was a scholar, and his general deportment was that of a gentleman. His sentiments were those of a Sabbatarian Baptist. In 1642, when he left Wales, there was not then above one or two gathered churches; but before the Restoration, there were above twenty distinct societies, consisting of from two to five hundred members, chiefly planted and formed by his care and industry, in the principles of the Baptists. They

CHAP. IX.

FROM THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE
TO THE POPISH PLOT IN THE YEAR 1678.

1672.

THE French king having prevailed with the English court to break the triple alliance, and make war with the Dutch, published a declaration at Paris, signifying that he could not, without diminution of his glory, any longer dissemble the indignation raised in him, by the unhandsome carriage of the states-general of the United Provinces, and therefore proclaimed war against them both by sea and land. In the beginning of May, he drew together an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he took the principal places in Flanders, and with a rapid fury overran the greatest part of the Netherlands. In the beginning of July he took possession of Utrecht, a city in the heart of the United Provinces, where he held his court, and threatened to besiege Amsterdam itself. In this extremity the Dutch opened their sluices, and laid a great part of their country under water; the populace rose, and having obliged the states to elect the young prince of Orange stadtholder, they fell upon the two brothers Cornelius and John de Wit, their late pensionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young prince, who was then but twenty-two years old, used all imaginable vigilance and activity to save the remainder of his country; and like a true patriot declared, he would die in the last dike, rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their assistance, when the young prince, like another Scipio, abandoning his own country, besieged and took the important town of Bonne, which opened a passage for the Germans into

were also for the ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in public worship; laying on of hands on the newly baptized, and anointing the sick with oil, and did not limit their communion to an agreement with them in their sentiments on baptism. He bore his last illness with great patience, and under the acutest pains would bless God, and say, "he would not entertain one hard thought of God for all the world," and could scarcely be restrained from acts of devotion, and from expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety.—Dr. Grey, after Wood, has vilified Mr. Powell by retailing the falsehoods of a piece entitled, *Strena Vavasoriensis*. Crosby's History, vol. 1. p. 373, &c. *Life and Death of Vavasor Powell*.—Ed.

Flanders, and struck such a surprise into the French, whose enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their conquests in Holland, except Maestricht and Grave, with as much precipitance as they had made them.

These rapid conquests of the French opened people's mouths against the court, and raised such discontents in England, that his majesty was obliged to issue out his proclamation, to suppress all unlawful and undutiful conversation, threatening a severe prosecution of such who should spread false news, or intermeddle with affairs of state, or promote scandal against his majesty's counsellors, by their common discourse in coffee-houses, or places of public resort. He was obliged also to continue the exchequer shut up, contrary to his royal promise, and to prorogue his parliament till next year, which he foresaw would be in a flame at their meeting.

During this interval of parliament, the declaration of indulgence continued in force, and the dissenters had rest; when the Presbyterians and Independents, to shew their agreement among themselves, as well as to support the doctrines of the Reformation against the prevailing errors of Popery, Socinianism, and infidelity, set up a weekly lecture at Pinners'-hall, in Broad-street, on Tuesday mornings, under the encouragement of the principal merchants and tradesmen of their persuasion in the city. Four Presbyterians were joined by two Independents to preach by turns, and, to give it the greater reputation, the principal ministers for learning and popularity were chosen as lecturers; as Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Collins, Jenkins, Mead, and afterward Mr. Alsop, Howe, Cole, and others; and though there were some little misunderstandings at their first setting out, about some high points of Calvinism, occasioned by one of Mr. Baxter's first sermons, yet the lecture continued in this form till the year 1695, when it split upon the same rock, occasioned by the reprinting Dr. Crisp's works. The four Presbyterians removed to Salters'-hall, and set up a lecture on the same day and hour. The two Independents remained at Pinners'-hall, and when there was no prospect of an accommodation, each party filled up their numbers out of their respective denominations, and they are both subsisting to this day.

Among the Puritan divines who died this year, bishop

Wilkins deserves the first place; he was born at Fawsley in Northamptonshire, in the house of his mother's father, Mr. J. Dod the decalogist, in the year 1614, and educated in Magdalen-hall under Mr. Tombes.* He was some time warden of Wadham-college, Oxford, and afterward master of Trinity-college, Cambridge, of which he was deprived at the Restoration, though he conformed. He married a sister of the protector's Oliver Cromwell, and complied with all the changes of the late times, being, as Wood observes, always puritanically affected: but for his admirable abilities, and extraordinary genius, he had scarce his equal. He was made bishop of Chester 1668; and surely, says Mr. Echard, the court could not have found out a man of greater ingenuity and capacity, or of more universal knowledge and understanding in all parts of polite learning. Archbishop Tillotson, and bishop Burnet, who were his intimates, give him the highest encomium; as, that he was a pious Christian, an admirable preacher, a rare mathematician, and mechanical philosopher; and a man of as great a mind, as true judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as great a soul, as any they ever knew. He was a person of universal charity, and moderation of spirit; and was concerned in all attempts for a comprehension with the dissenters. He died of the stone in Dr. Tillotson's house in Chancery-lane, November 19, 1672, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. Joseph Caryl, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Magnus, London-bridge, was born of genteel parents in London, 1602, educated in Exeter-college, and afterward preacher of Lincoln's-inn; he was a member of the assembly of divines, and afterward one of the triers for approbation of ministers; in all which stations he appeared a man of great learning, piety, and modesty. He was sent by the parliament to attend the king at Holmby-house, and was one of their commissioners in the treaty of the Isle of Wight. After his ejection in 1662, he lived privately in London, and preached to his congregation as the times would permit; he was a moderate Independent, and distinguished himself by his learned exposition upon the book of Job.† He died uni-

* Athen. Oxon. p. 505.

† This work was printed in two volumes folio, consisting of upwards of six hundred sheets: and there was also an edition in twelve volumes 4to. "One just remark (says Mr. Granger) has been made on its utility, that it is a very sufficient exercise for the virtue of patience, which it was chiefly intended to inculcate and improve." Granger's History of England, vol. 3: p. 313. 8vo. note.—Ed.

versally lamented by all his acquaintance February 7, 1672—3, and in the seventy-first year of his age.*

Mr. Philip Nye, M. A. was a divine of a warmer spirit : he was born of a genteel family 1596, and was educated in Magdalen-college,† Oxford, where he took the degrees. In 1630 he was curate of St. Michael's Cornhill, and three years after fled from bishop Laud's persecution into Holland, but returned about the beginning of the long-parliament, and became minister of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, one of the triers in the protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the Congregational messengers at the Savoy. He was a great politician, insomuch that it was debated in council, after the Restoration, whether he should not be excepted for life ; and it was concluded, that if he should accept or exercise any office ecclesiastical or civil, he should, to all intents and purposes in law, stand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange, and preached privately, as opportunity offered, to a congregation of dissenters till the present year, when he died in the month of September, about seventy-six years old, and lies buried in the church of St. Michael's Cornhill, leaving behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth, and of one who was seldom if ever outreached.‡

When the king met his parliament February 4, 1673, after a recess of a year and nine months, he acquainted them with the reasonableness and necessity of the war with the Dutch, and having asked a supply, told them, " he had found the good effect of his indulgence to dissenters, but that it was a mistake in those who said, more liberty was given to Papists than others, because they had only freedom in their own houses, and no public assemblies ; he should therefore take it ill to receive contradiction in what he had done ; and to deal plainly with you (said his majesty), I am resolved to stick to my declaration." Lord-chancellor Shaftesbury seconded the king's speech, and having vindicated the indulgence, magnified the king's zeal for the church of England

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 7. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 121.

† Mr. Nye was entered a commoner of Brazen-nose, July 1615, aged about nineteen years ; but making no long stay there, he removed to Magdalen-hall, not Magdalen-college. Dr. Grey ; and Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 368.—Ed.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 29. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 86.

and the Protestant religion. But the house of commons declared against the dispensing power, and argued that though the king had a power to pardon offenders, he had not a right to authorize men to break the laws, for this would infer a power to alter the government; and if the king could secure offenders by indemnifying them beforehand, it was in vain to make any laws at all, because, according to this maxim, they had no force but at the king's discretion.—But it was objected on the other side, that a difference was to be made between penal laws in spiritual matters and others; that the king's supremacy gave him a peculiar authority over these, as was evident by his tolerating the Jews, and the churches of foreign Protestants.—To which it was replied, that the intent of the law in asserting the supremacy was only to exclude all foreign jurisdiction, and to lodge the whole authority with the king; but that was still bounded and regulated by law; the Jews were still at mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign churches were excepted by a particular clause in the act of uniformity; and therefore, upon the whole, they came to this resolution February 10, “That penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament; that no such power had ever been claimed by any of his majesty's predecessors, and therefore his majesty's indulgence was contrary to law, and tended to subvert the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and his two houses of parliament.” Pursuant to this resolution, they addressed the king February 19, to recall his declaration. The king answered, that he was sorry they should question his power in ecclesiastics, which had not been done in the reigns of his ancestors; that he did not pretend to suspend laws, wherein the properties, rights, or liberties, of his subjects were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the established religion, but only to take off the penalties inflicted on dissenters, which he believed they themselves would not wish executed according to the rigour of the law.* The commons, perceiving his majesty was not inclined to desist from his declaration, stopped the money-bill,† and

* Echard, p. 889. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 72, 73.

† The remarks of Mr. Gough here are just and weighty; “The conduct of the commons in this case hath procured the general voice of our historians in their favour; and it must be acknowledged that they acted consistently with their duty in opposing the infringement of the constitution.—Yet as the king's apparent inclination

presented a second address, insisting upon a full and satisfactory assurance, that his majesty's conduct in this affair might not be drawn into example for the future, which at length they obtained.

The parliament was now first disposed to distinguish between Protestant dissenters and Popish recusants, and to give ease to the former without including the latter, especially when the dissenters in the house disavowed the dispensing power, though it had been exercised in their favour. Alderman Love, member for the city of London, stood up, and in a handsome speech declared, "that he had rather go without his own desired liberty, than have it in a way so destructive of the liberties of his country and the Protestant interest; and that this was the sense of the main body of dissenters:" which surprised the whole house, and gave a turn to those very men, who for ten years together had been loading the Nonconformists with one penal law after another: but things were now at a crisis; Popery and slavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the Protestant powers ravaging one another; the exchequer shut up; the heir-apparent of the crown an open Papist; and an army encamped near London under Popish officers ready to be transported into Holland to complete their ruin. When the dissenters, at such a time, laid aside their resentments against their persecutors, and renounced their own liberty for the safety of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of their country; all sober men began to think, it was high time to put a mark of distinction between them and the Roman-Catholics.

But the king was of another mind; yet being in want of money, he was easily persuaded by his mistresses to give up his indulgence, contrary to the advice of the cabal, who told him, if he would make a bold stand for his prerogative, all would be well. But he came to the house March 8, and

to have the dissenters exempted from penal laws would have merited praise, if it had been sincere, and attempted in a legal way, so the opposition of the parliament would have been entitled to the claim of greater merit, if it had not originated, with many of them, in an aversion to the principles of the declaration (impunity to the Nonconformists) as much as the grounds upon which it was published; and if they had not laid the foundations for this contest in the various penal laws, which, under the influence of party pique, they had universally enacted and received; and on all occasions manifested a determined enmity to all dissenters from the established religion; for if they had not an aversion to the principles of the declaration, they had now a fair opportunity of legalizing it, by converting it into an act of parliament." *History of the Quakers*, vol. 2. p. 374.—ED.

having pressed the commons to dispatch the money-bill, he added,—“ If there be any scruple yet remaining with you, touching the suspension of the penal laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what has been done in that particular shall not for the future be drawn into example and consequence; and as I daily expect from you a bill for my supply, so I assure you I shall as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you satisfaction in all your just grievances.” Accordingly he called for the declaration, and broke the seal with his own hands, by which means all the licences for meeting-houses were called in. Our historians* observe, that this proceeding of the king made a surprising alteration in lord Shaftesbury, who had been the soul of the cabal, and the master-builder of the scheme for making the king absolute; but that when his majesty was so unsteady as to desert him in the project of an indulgence after he had promised to stand by him, he concluded the king was not to be trusted, and appeared afterward at the head of the country party.

The Nonconformists were now in some hopes of a legal toleration by parliament, for the commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill be brought in for the ease of his majesty's Protestant subjects, who are dissenters in matters of religion from the church of England. The substance of the bill was,

“ 1. That ease be given to his majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting in matters of religion, who shall subscribe the articles of the doctrine of the church of England, and shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.† 2. That the said Protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penalties for not coming to church. 3. That the clause in the late act of uniformity, for declaring the assent and consent, be taken away by this bill. 4. That the said Protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penalties, for meeting together for performance of any religious exercises. 5. That every teacher shall give notice of the place where he intends to hold such his meetings to the quarter-sessions, where in open court he shall first make such subscription, and take such oaths as aforesaid, and receive from thence a certificate thereof, where all such proceedings shall remain upon record. 6. That any such teacher may exercise as aforesaid,

* Echard, p. 891. Burnet, vol. 2, p. 75.

† Echard, p. 889.

until the next respective quarter-sessions, and no longer, in case he shall not first take the oaths, and make such subscription before two of the neighbouring justices of peace, and shall first give them notice of the place of his intended meeting, and take a certificate thereof under the said justices' hands, a duplicate whereof they are to return into the next quarter-sessions. 7. The doors and passages of all houses and places where the said dissenters do meet shall be always open and free during the time of such exercise. 8. If any dissenter refuses to take the churchwardens' oaths, he shall then find another fit person, who is not a dissenter, to execute that office, and shall pay him for it." But though all agreed in bringing in a bill, there was neither time nor unanimity enough in the house this sessions to agree upon particulars; for according to bishop Burnet, it went no farther than a second reading. Mr. Echard says, it was dropped in the house of lords on account of some amendments, till the parliament was prorogued; but Mr. Coke says, more truly, that it was because the dead weight of bishops joined with the king and the caballing party against it.*

While this was depending the commons addressed the king against Papists and Jesuits, expressing their great concern to see such persons admitted into employments and places of great trust and profit, and especially into military commands, and therefore pray, that the laws against them may be put in execution. Upon which a proclamation was issued, though to very little purpose, enjoining all Popish priests and Jesuits to depart the realm, and the laws to be put in execution against all Popish recusants.

But his majesty making no mention of removing them from places of profit and trust, the commons, knowing where their strength lay, suspended their money-bill, and ordered a bill to be brought in, to confine all places of profit and trust to those only who are of the communion of the church of England: this is commonly called the test-act, and was levelled against the duke of York and the present ministry, who were chiefly of his persuasion. When it was brought into the house, the court opposed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the church-party, by proposing, that some regard might be had to Protestant dissent-

* Detect. p. 490.

ers, hoping by this means to clog the bill, and throw it out of the house; upon which alderman Love, a dissenter, and representative for the city, stood up again and said, he hoped the clause in favour of Protestant dissenters would occasion no intemperate heats; and moved, that since it was likely to prove so considerable a barrier against Popery, the bill might pass without any alteration, and that nothing might interpose till it was finished; and then (says the alderman), we [dissenters] will try if the parliament will not distinguish us from Popish recusants, by some marks of their favour; but we are willing to lie under the severity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more necessary work with our concerns. These being the sentiments of the leading dissenters both in the house and without doors, the bill passed the commons with little opposition; but when it came to be debated in the house of peers, in the king's presence, March 15, the whole court was against it, except the earl of Bristol; and maintained that it was his majesty's prerogative to employ whom he pleased in his service. Some were for having the king stand his ground against the parliament. The duke of Buckingham and lord Berkley* proposed bringing the army to town, and taking out of both houses the members who made opposition. Lauderdale offered to bring an army from Scotland; and lord Clifford told the king, that the people now saw through his designs, and therefore he must resolve to make himself master at once, or be for ever subject to much jealousy and contempt. But the earl of Shaftesbury, having changed sides, pressed the king to give the parliament full content, and then they would undertake to procure him the supply he wanted. This suited the king's easy temper, who, not being willing to risk a second civil war, went into these measures, and out of mere necessity for money, gave up the Papists, in hopes that he might afterward recover what in the present extremity he was forced to resign. This effectually broke the cabal, and put the Roman Catholics upon pursuing other measures to introduce their religion, which was the making way for a Popish successor of more resolute principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the Popish plot, which did not break out till 1678, as appears by Mr. Coleman's letters. The bill received the royal

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 75, 76.

assent March 25, together with the money-bill of 1,200,000*l.* and then the parliament was prorogued to October 20, after a short session of seven weeks.

The test act is entitled, *An act to prevent dangers which happen from Popish recusants.* It requires, "that all persons bearing any office of trust or profit shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance in public and open court, and shall also receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish-church, on some Lord's day, immediately after divine service and sermon, and deliver a certificate of having so received the sacrament, under the hands of the respective ministers and churchwardens, proved by two credible witnesses upon oath, and upon record in court. And that all persons taking the said oaths of supremacy and allegiance shall likewise make and subscribe this following declaration, 'I A. B. do declare, that I believe there is no transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.' The penalty of breaking through this act, is a disability of suing in any court of law or equity, being guardian of any child, executor or administrator to any person, or of taking any legacy, or deed of gift, or of bearing any public office; besides a fine of five hundred pounds."

Mr. Echard observes well, that this act was principally, if not solely, levelled at the Roman Catholics, as appears from the title; and this is farther evident from the disposition of the house of commons at this time, to ease the Protestant dissenters of some of their burdens. If the dissenters had fallen in with the court-measures, they might have prevented the bill's passing. But they left their own liberties in a state of uncertainty, to secure those of the nation. However, though the intention was good, the act itself is, in my opinion, very unjustifiable, because it founds dominion in grace. A man cannot be an exciseman, a customhouse-officer, a lieutenant in the army or navy, no not so much as a tide-waiter, without putting on the most distinguishing badge of Christianity, according to the usage of the church of England. Is not this a strong temptation to profanation and hypocrisy? Does it not pervert one of the most solemn institutions of religion, to purposes for which it was never

intended? And is it not easy to find securities of a civil nature, sufficient for the preservation both of church and state? When the act took place, the duke of York lord-high-admiral of England, lord Clifford lord-high-treasurer, and a great many other Popish officers, resigned their preferments; but not one Protestant dissenter, there not being one such in the administration: however, as the church-party shewed a noble zeal for their religion, bishop Burnet observes, that the dissenters got great reputation by their silent deportment; though the king and the court-bishops resolved to stick in their skirts.*

This being the last penal law made against the Nonconformists in this reign, it may not be improper to put them all together, that the reader may have a full view of their distressed circumstances: for besides the penal laws of queen Elizabeth, which were confirmed by this parliament; one of which was no less than banishment; and another a mulct on every one for not coming to church;

There were in force,

1st. An act for well governing and regulating corporations, 13 Car. II. c. 1. Whereby all who bear office in any city, corporation, town, or borough, are required to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England. This effectually turned the dissenters out of the government of all corporations.

2d. The act of uniformity, 14 Car. II. c. 4. Whereby all parsons, vicars, and ministers, who enjoyed any preferment in the church, were obliged to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, &c. or be *ipso facto* deprived: and all schoolmasters and tutors are prohibited from teaching youth without licence from the archbishop or bishop, under pain of three months' imprisonment.

3d. An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, 16 Car. II. c. 4. Whereby it is declared unlawful to be present at any meeting for religious worship, except according to the usage of the church of England, where five besides the family should be assembled; in which case the first and second offences are made subject to a certain fine, or three months' imprisonment, on conviction before a justice

* Vol. 2. p. 80.

of peace on the oath of a single witness; and the third offence, on conviction at the sessions, or before the justices of assize, is punishable by transportation for seven years.

4th. An act for restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations, 17 Car. II. c. 2. Whereby all dissenting ministers, who would not take an oath therein specified against the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatsoever, and that they would never attempt any alteration of government in church and state; are banished five miles from all corporation towns, and subject to a fine of 40*l.* in case they should preach in any conventicle.

5th. Another act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, 22 Car. II. c. 5. Whereby any persons who teach in such conventicles, are subject to a penalty of 20*l.* for the first, and 40*l.* for every subsequent offence; and any person who permits such a conventicle to be held in their house, is liable to a fine of 20*l.*; and justices of peace are empowered to break open doors where they are informed such conventicles are held, and take the offenders into custody.

6th. An act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants, commonly called the test-act, whereby (as afore-mentioned) every person is incapacitated from holding a place of trust under the government, without taking the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

By the rigorous execution of these laws, the Nonconformist ministers were separated from their congregations, from their maintenance, from their houses and families, and their people reduced to distress and misery, or obliged to worship God in a manner contrary to the dictates of their consciences, on penalty of heavy fines, or of being shut up in a prison among thieves and robbers. Great numbers retired to the plantations; but Dr. Owen, who was shipping off his effects for New-England, was forbid to leave the kingdom by express orders from king Charles himself. If there had been treason or rebellion in the case, it had been justifiable; but when it was purely for nonconformity to certain rites and ceremonies, and a form of church-government, it can deserve no better name than that of persecution.

The house of commons, from their apprehensions of the

growth of Popery and of a Popish successor to the crown, petitioned the king against the duke's second marriage with the princess of Modena, an Italian Papist, but his majesty told them they were too late. Upon which the commons stopped their money-bill, voted the standing army a grievance, and were proceeding to other vigorous resolutions, when the king sent for them to the house of peers, and with a short speech prorogued them to January 7, after they had sat only nine days. In the mean time the duke's marriage was consummated, with the consent of the French king, which raised the expectation of the Roman Catholics higher than ever.

This induced the more zealous Protestants to think of a firmer union with the dissenters; accordingly Mr. Baxter, at the request of the earl of Orrery, drew up some proposals for a comprehension, agreeably to those already mentioned.* "He proposed that the meeting-houses of dissenters should be allowed as chapels, till there were vacancies for them in the churches—and that those who had no meeting-houses should be schoolmasters or lecturers till such time—that none should be obliged to read the Apocrypha—that parents might have liberty to dedicate their own children in baptism—that ministers might preach where somebody else who had the room might read the common-prayer—that ministers be not obliged to give the sacrament to such as are guilty of scandalous immoralities, nor to refuse it to those who scruple kneeling—that persons excommunicated may not be imprisoned and ruined—and that toleration be given to all conscientious dissenters."—These proposals, being communicated to the earl of Orrery, were put into the hands of bishop Morley,† who returned them without yielding to any thing of importance. The motion was also revived in the house of commons; but the shortness of the sessions put a stop to its progress. Besides, the court-bishops seemed altogether indisposed to any concessions.‡

This year put an end to the lives of two considerable Nonconformist divines; Mr. William Whitaker, the ejected minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, son of Mr. Jer. Whitaker, a divine of great learning in the oriental languages. He was an elegant preacher, and a good man from his youth. While he was at Emanuel-college, he was

* Baxter, part 3. p. 110.

† Page 109.

‡ Baxter, part 3. p. 140.

universally beloved; and when he came to London, generally esteemed for his sweet disposition. He was first preacher at Hornchurch, and then at the place from whence he was ejected. He afterward preached to a separate congregation as the times would permit, and died in the year 1673.*

Mr. James Janeway, M. A. was born in Hertfordshire, and student of Christ-church, Oxford. He was afterward tutor in the house of Mr. Stringer at Windsor: but not being satisfied with conformity, he opened a separate meeting in Rotherhithe, where he preached to a numerous congregation with great success.† He was a zealous preacher, and fervent in prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable labours broke his constitution, so that he died of a consumption March 16, 1673—4, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The revocation of the indulgence, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters for deserting them in their designs to prevent the passing the test-act, let loose the whole tribe of informers. The Papists being excluded from places of trust, the court had no tenderness for Protestant Nonconformists; the judges therefore had orders to quicken the execution of the laws against them. The estates of those of the best quality in each county were ordered to be seized. The mouths of the high-church pulpiti-teers were encouraged to open as loud as possible; one, in his sermon before the house of commons, told them, that the Nonconformists ought not to be tolerated, but to be cured by vengeance. He urged them to set fire to the fagot, and to teach them by scourges or scorpions, and open their eyes with gall. The king himself issued out a proclamation for putting the penal laws in full execution; which had its effect.‡

Mr. Baxter was one of the first upon whom the storm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his Thursday lecture at Mr. Turner's. He went with a constable and Keting the informer to sir William Pulteney's, who, demanding the warrant, found it signed by Henry Montague, Esq. bailiff of Westminster. Sir William told the constable, that none but a city justice could give a warrant to appre-

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 25. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 127.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 838. Palmer, p. 634.

‡ State Tracts, vol. 3. p. 42. Baxter, part 3. p. 153.

hend a man for preaching in the city, whereupon he was dismissed.* Endeavours were used to surprise Dr. Manton, and send him to prison upon the Oxford or five-mile act, but Mr. Bedford preaching for him was accidentally apprehended in his stead; and though he had taken the oath in the five-mile act, was fined 20*l.* and the place 40*l.* which was paid by the hearers.†

The like ravages were made in most parts of England; Mr. Joseph Swaffield of Salisbury was seized preaching in his own house, and bound over to the assizes, and imprisoned in the county jail almost a year. Twenty-five persons, men and women, were indicted for a riot, that is, for a conventicle, and suffered the penalty of the law.‡ The informers were Roman Catholics, one of whom was executed for treason in the Popish plot.—At East-Salcomb, in Devonshire, lived one Joan Boston, an old blind widow, who, for a supposed conventicle held at her house, was fined 12*l.* and for nonpayment of it threatened with a jail. After some weeks the officers broke open her doors, and carried away her goods to above the value of the fine. They sold as many goods as were worth 13*l.* for 50*s.* six hogsheads valued at 40*s.* for 9*s.*; and pewter, feather-beds, &c. for 20*s.* besides the rent which they demanded of her tenants.—Mr. John Thompson, minister in Bristol, was apprehended, and refusing to take the Oxford oath was committed to prison, where he was seized with a fever through the noisomeness of the place: a physician being sent for, advised his removal; and a bond of 500*l.* was offered the sheriff for his security: application was also made to the bishop without success: so he died in prison March 4, declaring, that if he had known when he came to prison that he should die there, he would have done no otherwise than he did. Numberless examples of the like kind might be produced during the recess of the parliament. But the king's want of money, and the discontents of his people, obliged him to put an end to the war with the Dutch, with no other advantage than a sum of 2 or 3,000*l.* for his expenses.

His majesty was unwilling to meet his parliament, who were now full of zeal against Popery, and began to consider

* State Tracts, part 3. p. 155.

† Conf. Plea, part 4. p. 75.

‡ Ibid.

the Nonconformists as auxiliaries to the Protestant cause; but necessity obliged him to convene them; and as soon as they met January 7, 1674, they addressed his majesty to banish all Papists, who were not housekeepers nor menial servants to peers, ten miles from London; and to appoint a fast for the calamities of the nation. They attacked the remaining members of the cabal, and voted an address for removing them from his majesty's council; upon which the king prorogued them for above a year, after they had sat six weeks, without giving any money, or passing one single act: which was an indication of ill blood between the king and parliament, and a certain forerunner of vengeance upon the dissenters. But to stifle the clamours of the people, his majesty republished his proclamation,* forbidding their meddling in state-affairs, or talking seditiously in coffee-houses; and then commanded an order to be made public, "that effectual care be taken for the suppressing of conventicles: and whereas, divers pretend old licences from his majesty, and would support themselves by that pretence, his majesty declares, that all his licences were long since recalled, and that no conventicle has any authority, allowance, or encouragement, from him.†

This year put an end to the life of that great man John Milton, born in London, and educated in Christ-college, Cambridge, where he discovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was Latin secretary to the long-parliament, and wrote in defence of the murder of king Charles I. against Salmasius and others, with great spirit, and in a pure and elegant Latin style. He was afterward secretary to the protector Cromwell, and lost the sight of both his eyes by hard study. At the Restoration some of his books were burnt, and himself in danger, but he was happily included in the act of indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of *Paradise Lost*; in which he manifested such a sublimity of thought, and such elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after

* Gazette, no. 883.

† Ibid. no. 962. 965.

he was blind, the Greek poets, though they understood not the language. He died in mean circumstances at Bunhill-row, London, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.*

Though the Protestant religion stood in need of the united strength of all its professors against the advances of Popery, and the parliament had moved for a toleration of Protestant dissenters, yet the bishops continued to prosecute them in common with the Papists. Archbishop Sheldon directed circular letters to the bishops of his province, enjoining them to give directions to their archdeacons and commissaries to procure particular information from the churchwardens of their several parishes on the following inquiries, and transmit them to him after the next visitation :

1. What number of persons are there, by common estimation, inhabiting within each parish subject to your jurisdiction?
2. What number of Popish recusants, or persons suspected of recusancy, are resident among the inhabitants aforesaid?
3. What number of other dissenters are there in each parish, of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse or wholly absent themselves from the communion of the church of England, at such times as by law they are required?—Some of the clergy were grieved at these proceedings, and Dr. Tillotson and Stillingfleet met privately with Dr. Manton, Bates, Pool, and Baxter, to consider of terms of accommodation, which, when they had agreed upon and communicated to the bishops, they were disallowed; so that when Tillotson saw how things were going, he cautiously withdrew from the odium, and wrote the following letter to

* It is but a piece of justice to the memory and virtues of some of the most distinguished characters of the Conformists and Nonconformists of this period, to record here their pious exertions for the religious instruction of the Welsh. A subscription was opened, and an association was formed, for the distribution of Bibles, Testaments, and practical treatises, and for opening schools, in the principality of Wales. At the head of this institution was Dr. Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury. The gentlemen who were the chief contributors to this design were, Whichcote, Ford, Bates, Outram, Patrick, Durham, Stillingfleet, Meriton, Burton, Baxter, Gouge, Poole, Fowler, Newman, Reading, Griffith, Short, Gape, and the beneficent Firmin. From Midsummer 1674 to Lady-day 1675, they had distributed thirty-two Welsh Bibles, which were all that could be procured in Wales or London; two hundred and forty New Testaments, and five hundred Whole Duty of Man, in Welsh. In the preceding year eight hundred and twelve poor children had, by the charity of others, been put to school in fifty-one of the chief towns in Wales. The distribution of these books provoked others to that charitable work, so that the children placed at schools by these gentlemen, and others, from their own purse, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and fifty. It appears as if this undertaking gave birth to an edition of the Bible and liturgy in the Welsh tongue, in which Mr. Gouge had a principal concern, and to which Dr. Tillotson gave 50*l*. The impression extended to eight thousand copies. *Life of Mr. James Owen*, p. 10—12; and *Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin*, p. 50.—Ed.

Mr. Baxter, April 11, 1675: "That he was unwilling his name should be made public in the affair, since it was come to nothing: not but that I do heartily desire an accommodation (says he), and shall always endeavour it: but I am sure it will be a prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting the thing which, as circumstances are, cannot pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the countenance of his majesty, which at present I see little reason to expect."*

But the bishops' conduct made them unpopular, and drew on them many mortifications. People's compassion began to move towards their dissenting brethren, whom they frequently saw carried in great numbers to prison, and spoiled of their goods, for no other crime but a tender conscience. The very name of an informer became as odious as their behaviour was infamous. The aldermen of London often went out of the way when they heard of their coming; and some denied them their warrants, though by the act they forfeited 100*l*. Alderman Forth bound over an informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his chamber without leave.† When twelve or thirteen bishops came into the city to dine with sir Nathaniel Herne, one of the sheriffs of London, and exhorted him to put the laws in execution against the Nonconformists, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their fellow-citizens one day, and put them in prison the next.

The moderate churchmen shewing a disposition to unite with the Nonconformists against Popery, the court resolved to take in the old ranting cavaliers, to strengthen the opposition; for this purpose Morley and some other bishops were sent for to court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the church party and dissenters were so disposed to unite, and run into one; the court was therefore willing to make the church easy, and to secure to the king the allegiance of all his subjects at the same time; for this purpose a bill was brought into the house of lords, entitled, "An act to prevent the dangers that may arise from persons disaffected to the government;" by which all such as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; all who voted in elections of parliament men; all privy-counsellors, and members of parliament themselves;

* Baxter, part 3. p. 157, 158.

† Compl. History, p. 338.

were under a penalty to take the following oath, being the same as was required by the five-mile act: "I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king : and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. So help me God." The design of the bill was to enable the ministry to prosecute their destructive schemes against the constitution and the Protestant religion, without fear of opposition even from the parliament itself.* The chief speakers for the bill were, the lord-treasurer and the lord-keeper, lord Danby and Finch, with bishop Morley and Ward; but the earl of Shaftesbury, duke of Buckingham, lord Hollis, and Halifax, laid open the mischievous designs and consequences of it : it was considered as disinheriting men of their birthright, to shut them out from the right of election by an insnaring oath, as well as destructive of the privilege of parliament, which was to vote freely in all cases without any previous obligation; that the peace of the nation would be best secured by making good laws; and that oaths and tests without these would be no real security; scrupulous men might be fettered by them, but that the bulk of mankind would boldly take any test, and as easily break through it, as had appeared in the late times. The bill was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occasioned by it were so violent, that the king came unexpectedly to the house June 9, and prorogued the parliament ;† so the bill was dropped; but the debates of the lords upon the intended oath being made public, were ordered to be

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 167. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 130—134.

† The immediate occasion of the king's breaking up the sessions, was a dispute concerning privilege between the two houses, to which another question gave birth, while the bill for the new test was pending. Of this bill it was justly said, "No conveyancer could have drawn up a dissettlement of the whole birthright of England in more compendious terms." The debate on it lasted five several days, in the house of lords, before the bill was committed to a committee of the whole house, and eleven or twelve days afterward : and the house sat many days till eight or nine at night, and sometimes till midnight. But, through the interruption given to it, by the matter just mentioned, the bill was never reported from the committee to the house; a most happy escape! Burnet's History, vol. 2. p. 133; and Dr. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, MS. p. 63.—Ed.

burnt. Two proclamations were republished on this occasion ; one to prevent seditious discourses in coffee-houses, the other to put a stop to the publishing seditious libels.

The court had reason to desire the passing this bill, because the oath had been already imposed upon the Nonconformists ; and the court-clergy had been preaching in their churches, for several years, that passive obedience and non-resistance were the received doctrines of the church of England ; the bishops had possessed the king and his brother with the belief of it, and if it had now passed into a law, the whole nation had been bound in chains, and the court might have done as they pleased. But the parliament saw through the design ; and Dr. Burnet says,* he opened the reserve to the duke of York, by telling him, “ that there was no trusting to disputable opinions ; that there were distinctions and reserves in those who had maintained these points ; and that when men saw a visible danger of being first undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the shortest way of arguing, and save themselves the best way they could ; interest and self-preservation being powerful motives.” This might be wholesome advice to the duke ; but implies such a secret reserve as may cover the most wicked designs, and is not fit for the lips of a Protestant divine, nor even of an honest man.

The daring insolence of the Papists, who had their regular clergy in every corner of the town, was so great, that they not only challenged the Protestant divines to disputations, but threatened to assassinate such as preached openly against their tenets ; which confirmed the lords and commons in their persuasion, of the absolute necessity of entering into more moderate and healing measures with Protestant dissenters, notwithstanding the inflexible steadiness of the bishops against it. Upon this occasion the duke of Buckingham, lately commenced patriot, made the following speech in the house of lords, which is inserted in the commons’ journal. “ My lords, there is a thing called liberty, which, whatsoever some men may think, is that the people of England are fondest of, it is that they will never part with, and is that his majesty in his speech has promised to take particular care of. This, my lords, in my opinion, can

* Page 91.

never be done without giving an indulgence to all Protestant dissenters. It is certainly a very uneasy kind of life to any man, that has either Christian charity, humanity, or good-nature, to see his fellow-subjects daily abused, divested of their liberty and birthrights, and miserably thrown out of their possessions and freeholds, only because they cannot agree with others in some opinions and niceties of religion, which their consciences will not give them leave to consent to, and which, even by the confession of those who would impose them, are no ways necessary to salvation.

“ But, my lords, besides this, and all that may be said upon it, in order to the improvement of our trade and increase of the wealth, strength, and greatness, of this nation (which, with your leave, I shall presume to discourse of some other time), there is, methinks, in this notion of persecution, a very gross mistake, both as to the point of government and the point of religion : there is so as to the point of government, because it makes every man’s safety depend upon the wrong place, not upon the governors, or man’s living well towards the civil government established by law, but upon his being transported with zeal for every opinion that is held by those that have power in the church that is in fashion ; and I conceive it is a mistake in religion, because it is positively against the express doctrine and example of Jesus Christ. Nay, my lords, as to our Protestant religion, there is something in it yet worse, for we Protestants maintain, that none of those opinions which Christians differ about are infallible, and therefore in us it is somewhat an inexcusable conception, that men ought to be deprived of their inheritance, and all the certain conveniences and advantages of life, because they will not agree with us in our uncertain opinions of religion.

“ My humble motion therefore to your lordships is, that you will give leave to bring in a bill of indulgence to all Protestant dissenters. I know very well, that every peer in this realm has a right to bring into parliament any bill he conceives to be useful to his nation ; but I thought it more respectful to your lordships to ask your leave before ; and I cannot think the doing it will be any prejudice to the bill, because I am confident the reason, the prudence, and the charitableness, of it, will be able to justify it to this house, and to the whole world.” Accordingly the house

gave his grace leave to bring in a bill to this purpose ; but this and some others were lost by the warm debates which arose in the house upon the impeachment of the earl of Danby, and which occasioned the sudden prorogation of the parliament June 9, without having passed ~~the~~ public bill ; after which his majesty, upon farther discontent, prorogued them for fifteen months, which gave occasion to a question in the ensuing session, whether they were not legally dissolved.

From this time to the discovery of the Popish plot, parliaments were called and adjourned, says Mr. Coke, by order from France to French ministers and pensioners, to carry on the design of promoting the Catholic cause in masquerade.* The king himself was a known pensioner of Lewis XIV. who had appropriated a fund of twenty millions of livres for the service of these kingdoms, out of which the duke of York, and the prime ministers and leaders of parties, received the wages of their commission, according as the French ambassador represented their merit. The pensioners made it their business to raise the cry of the church's danger, and of the return of forty-one. This was spread over the whole nation in a variety of pamphlets and newspapers, &c. written by their own hirelings ; and if they met with opposition from the friends of the country, the authors and printers were sure to be fined and imprisoned. A reward of 50*l.* was offered for the printer of a pamphlet, supposed to be written by Andrew Marvel, entitled, " An account of the growth of power, and a seasonable argument to all grand juries ;" and 100*l.* for the persons who conveyed it to the press. No man could publish any thing on the side of liberty and the Protestant religion, but with the hazard of a prison, and a considerable fine ; nor is this to be wondered at, considering that sir Roger L'Estrange was the sole licenser of the press.

This gentleman was a pensioner of the court, and a champion for the prerogative ; he was a younger son of sir Hammond L'Estrange of Norfolk, who, having conceived hopes of surprising the town of Lynn for his majesty in the year 1644, obtained a commission from the king for that purpose, but being apprehended and tried by a court-martial, for coming into the parliament's quarters as a spy, he was condemned,

* Detect. p. 500.

and ordered to be executed in Smithfield January 2, 1744—5; but by the intercession of some powerful friends he was reprieved, and kept in Newgate several years. His sufferings made such an impression on his spirit, that on the king's restoration, he was resolved to make reprisals on the whole party. He was master of a fine English style, and of a great deal of keen wit, which he employed without any regard to truth or candour, in the service of Popery and arbitrary power, and in villifying the best and most undoubted patriots. Never did man fight so, to force the dissenters into the church, says Coke; and when he had got them there, branded them for trimmers, and would turn them out again. He was a most mercenary writer, and had a pen at the service of those who would pay him best. *Forty-one* was his retreat against all who durst contend against him and the prerogative. Sir Roger observed no measures with his adversaries in his *Weekly Observators*, *Citt and Bumpkin*, *Foxes and Firebrands*,* and other pamphlets; and when the falseness of his reasoning and insolence of his sarcasm were exposed, like a second Don Quixotte, he called aloud to the civil magistrate to come in to his aid. He represented the religion of the dissenters, as a medley of folly and enthusiasm; their principles and tempers as turbulent, seditious, and utterly inconsistent with the peace of the state; their pretences as frivolous, and often hypocritical. He excited the government to use the utmost severities to extirpate them out of the kingdom.† He furnished the clergy with pulpit materials to rail at them, which they improved with equal eagerness and in-

* Dr. Grey says, that sir Roger L'Estrange was not the author of this work; that the first part was written by Dr. Nalson, and the other parts, if he mistook not, by Mr. Ware, the son of sir James Ware, the great antiquarian. The most valuable of sir Roger L'Estrange's publications is reckoned to be his translation of Josephus. His style, which Mr. Neal commends, has been severely censured by other writers. Mr. Gordon says, that "his productions are not fit to be read by any who have taste and good-breeding: they are full of technical terms, of phrases picked up in the streets, from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauseous." Mr. Granger observes, that L'Estrange was one of the great corrupters of our language, by excluding vowels and other letters commonly pronounced, and introducing "pert and affected phrases." He was licenser of the press to Charles and James II. and died 11th of December, 1704, ætat. eighty-eight. Queen Mary, we are told, made this anagram on his name.

"Roger L'Estrange,
"Lying Strange Roger."

British Biography, vol. 6. p. 317. Granger's History of England, vol. 4. p. 70.
—Ed.

† Barnet, vol. 2. p. 252. Rapin.

discretion; so that Popery was forgot, and nothing so common in their mouths as *forty-one*. L'Estrange published some of the incautious expressions of some of the dissenters in the late times, which he picked out of their writings, to excite the populace against the whole party, as if it had not been easy to make reprisals from the ranting expressions of the Tories of this reign: for these exploits he was maintained by the court, and knighted: and yet when the tide turned in the reign of king James II. he forgot his raillery against the principles of the Nonconformists, and wrote as zealously for liberty of conscience, on the foot of the dispensing power, as any man in the kingdom.

But in answer to the invectives of this venal tribe, a pamphlet was published with the approbation of several ministers, entitled, *The Principles and Practices of several Nonconformists*, shewing that their religion is no other than what is professed in the church of England. The authors declare,* that they heartily own the Protestant reformation in doctrine, as contained in the articles of the church of England—that they are willing to embrace bishop Usher's model of church-government, which king Charles I. admitted—they hold it unlawful, by the constitution and laws of this kingdom, for subjects to take arms against the king, his office, authority, or person, or those legally commissioned and authorized by him; nor will they endeavour any alteration in church or state by any other means than by prayer to God, and by petitioning their superiors—they acknowledge the king's supremacy over all persons, &c. within his dominions—they declare that their doctrine tends to no unquietness or confusion, any more than the doctrine of the church of England. And they think it not fair dealing in their adversaries, to repeat and aggravate all intemperate passages vented in the late times, when impetuous actings hurried men into extremities; and they apprehend it would not tend to the advantage of the conforming clergy, if collections should be published of all their imprudences and weaknesses, as has been done on the other side—they abhor seditious conventicles, and affirm, that insurrections were never contrived in their meetings, nor

* To discredit Mr. Corbet's piece, Dr. Grey refers to Anthony Wood's character of him, as a preacher of sedition, and a vilifier of the king and his party. But with such writers every sentiment that does not breathe the spirit of passive obedience is sedition. Besides, Mr. Corbet's vindication turned on notorious facts.—Ed.

in any whereof they are conscious. Experience, say they, hath witnessed our peaceableness, and that disloyalty or sedition is not to be found among us, by the most inquisitive of our adversaries. They desire the church of England to take notice, that they have no mind to promote Popish designs; that they are aware of the advantage that Papists make of the divisions of Protestants—that the invectives thrown out against them, are made up only of big and swelling words, or of the indiscretions of the few, with which they are not chargeable—they do not pretend to be courtiers or philosophers, but they teach their people to fear God and honour the king; to love the brotherhood, to bridle their tongues, to be meek and lowly, and do their own work with quietness.*

Though the persecution continued very fierce, the Nonconformists ventured to assemble in private, and several pamphlets were published about this time [1676], in their defence; as, "The peaceable design; or, an account of the Nonconformist meetings:" by some London ministers: designed, says Dr. Stillingfleet, to be presented to parliament. "Reasons which prevailed with the dissenters in Bristol to continue their meetings, however prosecuted or disturbed"—"Separation no schism"—"A rebuke to informers; with a plea for the ministers of the gospel called Nonconformists, and their meetings; with advice to those to whom the informers apply for assistance in their undertaking."

Informers were now become the terror of the Nonconformists, and the reproach of a civilized nation.† They went about in disguise, and, like wandering strollers, lived upon the plunder of industrious families. They are a select company (says the Conformists' Plea for the Nonconformists) whom the long-suffering of God permits for a time; they are of no good reputation; they do not so much as know the names or persons in the country whom they molest, but go by report of their under-servants and accomplices. They come from two or three counties off, to set

* On the 15th of January, 1675—6, died Dorothy the wife of Richard Cromwell, in the forty-ninth year of her age; who, it is thought, never saw her husband after he retired into France. She was the daughter of Richard Major, esq. of Hursly in Hampshire, where she was married on the 1st of May 1649. The character given of her is, "that she was a prudent, godly, practical Christian." So far, it is observed, this lady has been happy, that amongst the illiberal things that have been levelled against the protectoral house of Cromwell, her character is almost the only one that scandal has left untouched. *Biographia Britan.* second edition, vol. 4. p. 538.

† *Conform. Plea*, part 3. p. 8—10.

up thi new trade ; whether they are Papists or nominal Protestants, who can tell ? They never go to their parish-churches, nor any other, but lie in wait and ambush for their prey ; their estate is invisible, their country unknown to many, and their morals are as bad as the very dregs of the age : these are the men who direct and rule many of the magistrates ; who live upon the spoil of better Christians and subjects than themselves, and go away with honest men's goods honestly gotten.*—They are generally poor, says another writer, as are many of the justices, so that they shared the booty belonging to the king as well as the poor among themselves : by which means the king and the poor got but little.†

Their practice was to insinuate themselves into an acquaintance with some under-servants, or lodgers in a Non-conformist's family, under the cloak of religion, in order to discover the place of their meeting. They walked the streets on the Lord's day, to observe which way any suspected persons went. They frequently sat down in coffee-houses, and places of public resort, to listen to conversation. They could turn themselves into any shape, and counterfeit any principles, to obtain their ends. When they had discovered a conventicle, they immediately got a warrant from some who were called confiding justices, to break open the house. If the minister was in the midst of his sermon or prayer, they commanded him in the king's name to come down from his pulpit ; and if he did not immediately obey, a file of musketeers was usually sent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into custody ; the congregation was broke up, and the people guarded along the street to a magistrate, and from him to a prison, unless they immediately paid their fines : the goods of the house were rifled, and frequently carried off, as a security for the large fine set upon it.

This was a new way of raising contributions, but it seldom or never prospered ; that which was ill gotten was as ill spent, upon lewd women, or in taverns and alehouses, in gaming, or some kind of debauchery. An informer was but one degree above a beggar ; there was a remarkable blast

* Sewel, p. 493.

† Dr. Grey is angry with Mr. Neal for not quoting the remainder of the paragraph from Sewel : in which that writer owns that some honest justices discouraged the practices of the informers, and availed themselves of any defect or failure in their evidence, to clear those against whom they informed.—Eo.

of Providence upon their persons and substance: most of them died in poverty and extreme misery; and as they lived in disgrace, they seemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. Stroud and Marshal, with all their plunder, could not keep out of prison: and when Keting, another informer, was confined for debt, he wrote to Mr. Baxter to endeavour his deliverance, confessing he believed God had sent that calamity upon him, for giving him so much trouble. Another died in the Compter for debt; and great numbers by their vices came to miserable and untimely ends.

But as some died off others succeeded, who by the instigation of the court disturbed all the meetings they could find. The king commanded the judges and justices of London to put the penal laws in strict execution; and sir Jos. Sheldon, lord-mayor, and kinsman to the archbishop, did not fail to do his part. Sir Tho. Davies issued a warrant to distrain on Mr. Baxter for 50*l.* on account of his lecture in New-street; and when he had built a little chapel in Oxenden-street, the doors were shut up after he had preached in it once. In April this year [1676], he was disturbed by a company of constables and officers, as he was preaching in Swallow-street, who beat drums under the windows, to interrupt the service, because they had not a warrant to break open the house.

The court-bishops, as has been observed more than once, pushed on the informers to do all the mischief they could to the Nonconformists; "The prelates will not suffer them to be quiet in their families* (says a considerable writer of these times), though they have given large and ample testimonies, that they are willing to live quietly by their church neighbours——" The dissenting Protestants have been reputed the only enemies of the nation, and therefore only persecuted, says a noble writer, while the Papists remain undisturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great bishops not dangerous. Mr. Locke, bishop Burnet, and others, have set a mark upon the names of archbishop Sheldon, bishop Morley, Gunning, Henchman, Ward, &c. which will not be easily erased; but I mention no more, because there were others of a better spirit, who resided in their diocesses, and had no concern with the court.

Among these we may reckon Dr. Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich, born in Southampton 1599, and educated in

* State Tracts, vol. 2. p. 54, 55; vol. 3. p. 42, &c.

Merton-college, Oxford; he was preacher to the society of Lincoln's-Inn, and reckoned one of the most eloquent preachers of his age, though he had some hoarseness in his voice.* In the time of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines. In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the preachers to the university of Oxford, and afterward a visitor. Upon the reform of the university, he was made dean of Christ-church, and vice-chancellor. After the king's death, he lost his deanery for refusing the engagement, but complied with all the other changes till the king's restoration, when he appeared with the Presbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a bishoprick on the terms of the king's declaration, which never took place. He was a person of singular affability, meekness, and humility, and a frequent preacher.† He was a constant resident in his diocese, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himself with the politics of the court. He died at Norwich January 16, 1676, ætatis seventy-six.

[On May the 22d 1676 died, aged seventy-three, the pious and learned Mr. John Tombes, B. D. ejected from the living of Leominster in Herefordshire. He was born in 1603 at Bewdley in Worcestershire. At fifteen years of age, having made a good proficiency in grammar-learning, he was sent to Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he studied under the celebrated Mr. William Pemble, upon whose decease he was chosen, though but twenty-one years of age, such was the reputation of his parts and learning, to succeed him in the catechetical lecture in that hall. He held this lecture about seven years, and then removed first to Worcester, and then to Leominster; in both places he had the name of a very popular preacher; and of the latter living he was, soon after, possessed; and as the emolument of it was small, lord viscount Scudamore, out of respect to Mr. Tombes, made an addition to it. In 1641 he was, through the spirit of the church-party, obliged to leave this town; and fled to Bristol, where general Fiennes gave him the living of All-Saints. The city being taken by the king's party, his wife and children being plundered, and a special warrant being out to apprehend him, he escaped with difficulty, and got to

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 420.

† "He was universally allowed (says Mr. Granger), to be a man of extraordinary parts, and discovers in his writings a richness of fancy as well as a solidity of judgment." He was hurried in the new chapel belonging to his palace, which he built at his own expense. History of England, vol. 3. p. 241.

London with his family, September 22, 1643. Here he was sometime minister of Fenchurch, till his stipend was taken away for not practising the baptism of infants. He was then chosen preacher to the honourable societies at the Temple, on condition that he would not touch on the controversy about it in the pulpit. Here he continued four years, and was then dismissed for having published a treatise on the subject. He was, after this, chosen minister in the town of his nativity, and had also the parsonage of Rosse given him; but he gave up his interest in the latter, to accept the mastership of the hospital at Ledbury. When the affections of the people at Bewdley were alienated from him, on account of his sentiments on baptism, he was restored to his living at Leominster. In 1653, he was appointed a trier for candidates for the ministry. After the Restoration he quitted his places, and laid down the ministry, and went to reside at Salisbury; from whence he had not long before married a rich widow, and conformed to the church as a lay-communicant. He was held in great respect by lord-chancellor Hyde, bishop Sanderson, bishop Barlow, and Dr. Ward bishop of Salisbury, whom, during his residence in the city, he often visited. Mr. Wood says, "that there were few better disputants in his age than he was." Mr. Wall speaks of him as "a man of the best parts in our nation, and perhaps in any." Dr. Calamy represents him as one, "whom all the world must own to have been a very considerable man and an excellent scholar." And it perpetuates his memory with honour, that the lords, in their conference with the commons, in 1702, on the bill to prevent occasional conformity, supported their argument, that receiving the sacrament in church did not necessarily import an entire conformity, by an appeal to his example: "There was a very learned and famous man (said they) that lived at Salisbury, Mr. Tombes, who was a very zealous conformist in all points but in one, infant baptism." Mr. Tombes was one of the first of his day, who attempted a reformation in the church, and to remove all human inventions in the worship of God: with this view he preached a sermon, which he was commanded by the house of commons to print. So early as the year 1627, being led in the course of his lectures to discuss the subject of baptism, he was brought into doubts concerning the authority for that of infants, which for some years he

continued to practise only on the ground of the apostle's words, 1 Cor. vii. 14. But the answer he received to that argument from an ingenious Baptist at Bristol put him to stand as to that text. When he was in London, he consulted some of the learned ministers there on the question, and at a particular conference debated the matters with them; but it broke up without obviating his objections. He afterward laid his reasons for doubting the lawfulness of the common practice in Latin before the Westminster assembly: after waiting many months, though he had been informed that a committee was to be appointed to consider the point, he could obtain no answer, nor hear that it was so much as admitted to a debate; but his papers were tossed up and down from one to another to expose him. On being dismissed from the Temple, he printed his Apology; of which Mr. Batchiler says, "Having perused this mild Apology, I conceive that the ingenuity, learning, and piety, therein contained, deserve the press." He repeatedly took up his pen in this controversy, of which he was judged to be a perfect master, and he was often drawn into public disputations on it, particularly with Mr. Baxter, at Bewdley. "The victory, as usual (says Mr. Nelson), was claimed on both sides: but some of the learned, who were far from approving his cause, yielded the advantage both of learning and argument to Mr. Tombes."* He wrote more books on the subject than any one man in England; and, continuing minister of the parish of Bewdley, he gathered a separate church of those of his own persuasion; which, though not large, consisted of some members distinguished for their piety and solid judgment; and three, who were afterward eminent ministers of that persuasion, were trained up in it, viz. Mr. Richard Adams, Mr. John Eccles, and captain Boylston. It continued till about the time of the king's restoration. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 278—293. Palmer's Nonconformist Memorial, vol. 2. p. 33—37; and Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 249—253.—ED.]

The murmurs of the people against the government, increased rather than diminished. When the parliament met, they addressed the king to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, and other confederates, for preserving the Spanish Netherlands, as the only means to save Great Britain from

* Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 251.

Popery and slavery.* But his majesty declared, he would not suffer his prerogative of making war and peace to be invaded, nor be prescribed to as to his alliances. However, he consented to a separate peace with the Dutch, and then prorogued the parliament to the middle of July, by which time the French had almost completed their conquests of the Spanish Flanders. The chief thing the parliament could obtain, was the repeal of the Popish act *de hæretico comburendo*.†

But when the campaign was over, his majesty did one of the most popular actions of his reign, which was marrying the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, to the prince of Orange. The king imagined he could oblige the Dutch, by this family alliance, to submit to a disadvantageous peace with the French; but when the prince declared roundly, that he would not sacrifice his honour, nor the liberties of Europe, for a wife, his majesty said, he was an honest man, and gave him the princess without any conditions, to the great joy of all the true friends of their country, who had now a Protestant heir to the crown in view, though at some distance. The nuptials were solemnized November 4, 1677, and the royal pair soon after embarked privately for Holland.

This year died archbishop Sheldon, one of the most inveterate enemies of the Nonconformists, a man of persecuting principles, and a tool of the prerogative, who made a jest of religion, any farther than it was a political engine of state.‡

* Notwithstanding this alarm, on a calculation that was made, in the preceding year, the Nonconformists of all sorts, and Papists included, were found to be in proportion to the members of the church of England, as one to twenty; "which was a number (says bishop Sherlock) too small to hurt the constitution." His Test Act vindicated, as quoted by Dr. Calamy; Own Life, p. 63. MS.—ED.

† This writ was taken away, on the principle of the wisdom of prevention, under the apprehension of Popery, "to preclude the risk of being burnt themselves, not to exempt others from the possibility of being burnt." The conduct of administration, in this instance, "was the effect of fear, not of general and enlarged principles." Hobhouse's Treatise on Heresy, p. 29, note.

Another modern writer observes, that "though the state, in this instance, shewed some moderation, neither then, nor at any subsequent time, has any alteration been made in the constitution of the church." It still assumes exclusively to itself all truth, and may persecute some sectaries as heretics, and punish them by "excommunication, degradation, and other ecclesiastical censures, not extending to death." It is not clear, that ecclesiastical judges may not, even now, doom them to the flames, though the civil power will not execute the sentence. High-church Politics, p. 64.—ED.

‡ "I scarce believe (says Dr. Grey), that the moderate, the impartial, the peaceable Mr. Neal, could write down so many untruths, in one paragraph, without blushing." The doctor expresses himself in another place, vol. 2. p. 320, displeased with Mr. Neal for saying, that Dr. Sheldon "never gave any great specimens of his piety or learning to the world," vol. 3. p. 388. In reply to this he quotes bishop Burnet.

He was succeeded by Dr. Sancroft, who was deprived for jacobitism at the Revolution.* Dr. Compton was promoted to the see of London, in the room of Dr. Henchman, a man of weak but arbitrary principles, till it came to his turn to be a sufferer.† Many of the bishops waited on the king this summer, for his commands to put the penal laws into execution, which they did with so much diligence, that Mr. Baxter says, he was so weary of keeping his doors shut against persons who came to distrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to leave his house, to sell his goods, and part with his very books.‡ About twelve years, says he, I have been driven one hundred miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to sell them. This was the case of many

who allows that Sheldon "was esteemed a learned man before the wars." Here the doctor refers to bishop Kennet, who says that Sheldon "withdrew from all state-affairs some years before his death; and to Echard, who extols his learning and piety, as well as his munificent benefactions, which we have specified, vol. 3. p. 388, note. Dr. Samuel Parker, who had been his chaplain, says, "he was a man of undoubted piety; but though he was very assiduous at prayers, yet he did not set so great a value upon them as others did, nor regarded so much worship as the use of worship, placing the chief point of religion in the practice of a good life." Mr. Granger represents him as "meriting, by his benevolent heart, public spirit, prudent conduct, and exemplary piety, the highest and most conspicuous station in the church." These characters of his grace appear to contradict Mr. Neal. On the other hand, he is supported by the testimony of bishop Burnet, who says, "He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all, and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy:" and the facts, adduced above, shew his intolerant spirit. But all agree in describing him as a man whose generous and munificent deeds displayed a benevolent and liberal mind, and whose pleasantness and affability of manner were truly ingratiating. "His conversation (as Dr. Parker draws his character) was easy; he never sent any man away discontented; among his domestics he was both pleasant and grave, and governed his family with authority and courtesy." His advice to young noblemen and gentlemen, who, by the order of their parents, daily resorted to him, deserves to be mentioned. It was always this: "Let it be your principal care to become honest men, and afterward be as devout and religious as you will. No piety will be of any advantage to yourselves or any body else, unless you are honest and moral men." Granger, vol. 3. p. 230. British Biography, vol. 5. p. 25, 26, note; and Burnet, vol. 1. p. 257.—Ed.

* "The bare mention of this is sufficient to expose Mr. Neal's sneer upon one of the greatest, the best, and most conscientious prelates." Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 376.—Ed.

† Dr. Grey affects to doubt, whether Mr. Neal designed this character for bishop Henchman or bishop Compton; though Henchman is the immediate antecedent, whose character more properly follows the mention of his death. The doctor appeals from Mr. Neal to Mr. Echard, who commends bishop Henchman's wisdom and prudence, and his admirable management of the king's escape after the battle of Worcester. Mr. Neal, in speaking of his arbitrary principles, till he was pinched, undoubtedly refers to his conduct, when the declaration for liberty of conscience was published. On this occasion he was much alarmed, and strictly enjoined his clergy to preach against Popery, though it offended the king. This prelate was lord-almoner, and he was the editor of *Gentleman's Calling*, supposed to be written by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Granger, vol. 3. p. 233. Bishop Compton's character will appear in the succeeding part of this history.—Ed.

‡ Baxter, part 3. p. 171, 172.

others, who, being separated from their families and friends, and having no way of subsistence, were forced to sell their books, and household furniture, to keep them from starving.

This year [1677] died the Rev. Dr. Tho. Manton, ejected from Covent-garden: he was born in Somersetshire 1620, educated at Tiverton-school, and from thence placed at Wadham-college, Oxon. He was ordained by Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter, when he was not more than twenty years of age: his first settlement was at Stoke-Newington near London, where he continued seven years, being generally esteemed an excellent preacher, and a learned expositor of Scripture. Upon the death or resignation of Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, he was presented to the living of Covent-garden by the duke of Bedford, and preached to a numerous congregation. The doctor was appointed one of the protector's chaplains, and one of the triers of persons' qualifications for the ministry; which service he constantly attended. In the year 1660, he was very forward, in concert with the Presbyterian ministers, to accomplish the king's restoration, and was one of the commissioners at the Savoy conference; he was then created doctor of divinity, and offered the deanery of Rochester, but declined it. After he was turned out of his living in 1662, he held a private meeting in his own house, but was imprisoned, and met with several disturbances in his ministerial work. He was consulted in all the treaties for a comprehension with the established church, and was high in the esteem of the duke of Bedford, earl of Manchester, and other noble persons. At length, finding his constitution breaking, he resigned himself to God's wise disposal, and being seized with a kind of lethargy, he died October 18, 1677, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Stoke-Newington.* Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon says, he was a divine of a rich fancy, a strong memory, and happy elocution, improved by diligent study. He was an excellent Christian, a fervent preacher, and every way a blessing to the church of God.* His practical works were published in five volumes in folio, at several times after his death, and are in great esteem among the dissenters to this day.†

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 42; and Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 138.

† Dr. Manton was also in great estimation for his activity and address in the management of public affairs, and was generally in the chair in meetings of the dissenting ministers in the city. Dr. Grey questions the truth of Mr. Neal's assertion, that

About the same time died Mr. John Rowe, M. A. born in the year 1626, and educated for some time at Cambridge, but translated to Oxford about the time of the visitation in the year 1648. Here he was admitted M. A. and fellow of Corpus-Christi-college. He was first lecturer at Witney in Oxfordshire; afterward preacher at Tiverton in Devonshire, and one of the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and insufficient ministers in that county. Upon the death of Mr. William Strong, in the year 1654, he was called to succeed him in the abbey-church of Westminster; at which place, as in all others, his sermons were very much attended to by persons of all persuasions.* On the 14th of March 1659, he was appointed one of the approvers of ministers by act of parliament; but on the king's restoration he gave way to the change of the times, and was silenced with his brethren by the act of uniformity. He was a divine of great gravity and piety; his sermons were judicious and well studied, fit for the audience of men of the best quality in those times. After the Bartholomew act, he continued with his people, and preached to them in Bartholomew-close, and elsewhere, as the times would permit, till his death, which happened October 12, 1677, in the fifty-second year of his age. He lies buried in Bunhill-fields under an altar monument of a brick foundation.† The words with which he concluded his last sermon were these: "We should not desire to continue longer in this world than to glorify God, to finish our work, and to be ready to say, Farewell, time; welcome, blessed eternity; even so; come, Lord Jesus!"

he was ordained at the age of twenty years, especially as he gives no authority for it. "Bishop Hall (he says) was too canonical a man to admit any person into deacon's orders at that age." If the fact be mistated, he must be destitute of all candour who can impute this to a wilful falsification. Archbishop Usher used to call Dr. Manton a voluminous preacher, meaning, that he had the art of reducing the substance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compass. But it was true in the literal sense, he was voluminous as an author: for his sermons run into several folios, one of which contains one hundred and ninety sermons on the one hundred and nineteenth psalm. The task of reading these, when he was a youth, to his aunt, had an unhappy effect on the mind of lord Bolingbroke. In a letter to Dr. Swift, he writes, "My next shall be as long as one of Dr. Manton's sermons, who taught my youth to yawn, and prepared me to be a high churchman, that I might never hear him read, nor read him more." Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 304, note.—Ed.

* Mr. Rowe was a good scholar, and well read in the fathers; and had such a knowledge of Greek, that he began very young to keep a diary in that language; which he continued till his death; but he burnt most of it in his last illness. Palmer.—Ed.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 39. Palmer's Noucon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 142.

CHAP. X.

FROM THE POPISH PLOT TO THE DEATH OF KING
CHARLES II. IN THE YEAR 1684—5.

1678.

THE king having concluded a peace with the Dutch, became mediator between the French and the confederates, at the treaty of Nimeguen; where the former managed the English court so dexterously, that the emperor and Spaniards were obliged to buy their peace, at the expense of the best part of Flanders.

From this time to the end of the king's reign, we meet with little else but domestic quarrels between the king and his parliament; sham plots, and furious sallies of rage and revenge, between the court and country parties. The Non-conformists were very great sufferers by these contests; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their avowed enemies.

No sooner was the nation at peace abroad, but a formidable plot broke out at home, to take away the king's life, to subvert the constitution, to introduce Popery, and to extirpate the Protestant religion root and branch. It was called the Popish plot, from the nature of the design, and the quality of the conspirators, who were no less than pope Innocent XI. cardinal Howard his legate; and the generals of the Jesuits in Spain and at Rome.* When the king was taken off, the duke of York was to receive the crown as a gift from the pope, and hold it in fee. If there happened any disturbance, the city of London was to be fired, and the infamy of the whole affair to be laid upon the Presbyterians and fanatics, in hopes that the churchmen, in the heat of their fury, would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more easy subversion of the Protestant religion. Thus an insurrection, and perhaps a second massacre of the Protestants was intended; for this purpose they had great numbers of Popish officers in pay, and some thousands of men secretly listed to appear as occasion required; as was

* Echard, p. 934.

deposed by the oaths of Bedloe, Tongue, Dr. Oates, and others.

The discovery of this plot spread a prodigious alarm over the nation, and awakened the fears of those who had been lulled into a fatal security. The king's life was the more valuable of the Popish successor, who was willing to run all risks for the introducing his religion. The murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey* at this juncture, a zealous and active Protestant justice of peace, increased men's suspicions of a plot, and the depositions upon oath of the above-mentioned witnesses, seemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their impeachment, sir G. Wakeman the queen's physician, Mr. Ed. Coleman the duke of York's secretary, Mr. Richard Langhorne, and eight other Romish priests and Jesuits, were apprehended and secured. When the parliament met, they voted that there was a damnable hellish plot contrived and carried on by Popish recusants against the life of the king and the Protestant religion. Five Popish lords were ordered into custody, viz. lord Stafford, Powis, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasys. A proclamation was issued against

* The death of this gentleman, an able magistrate and of a fair character was deemed a much stronger evidence of the reality of the plot, than the oath of Oates. The foolish circumstance of his name being anagrammatized to "I find murdered by rogues," helped to confirm the opinion of his being murdered by Papists. His funeral was celebrated with the most solemn pomp. Seventy-two clergymen preceded the corpse, which was followed by a thousand persons, most of whom were of eminence and rank. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 400. 8vo.

This shews the interest which the public took in this event. - So great was the alarm this plot raised, that posts and chains were put up in all parts of the city, and a considerable number of the trained-bands drawn out night after night, well-armed, and watching with as much care as if a great insurrection were expected before the morning. The general topics of conversation were designed massacres, to be perpetrated by assassins ready for the purpose, and by recruits from abroad. A sudden darkness at eleven o'clock, on the Sunday after the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, so that the ministers could not read their notes in the pulpit without candles, was looked upon as awfully ominous. The minds of people were kept in agitation and terror by dismal stories and frequent executions. Young and old quaked with fear. Not a house was unprovided with arms. No one went to rest at night without the apprehension of some tragical event to happen before the morning. This state of alarm and terror lasted not for a few weeks only, but months. The pageantry of mock-processions, employed on this occasion, heightened the aversion to Popery, and inflamed resentment against the conspirators. In one of these, amidst a vast crowd of spectators, who filled the air with their acclamations, and expressed great satisfaction in the show, there were carried on men's shoulders, through the principal streets, the effigies of the pope and the representative of the devil behind him, whispering in his ear and caressing him (though he afterward deserted him, before he was committed to the flames), together with the likeness of the dead body of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, carried before him by a man on horseback, to remind the people of his execrable murder. A great number of dignitaries in their copes, with crosses of monks, friars, Jesuits, and Popish bishops with their mitres, trinkets, and appurtenances, formed the rest of the procession. Dr. Calamy's own Life, MSS. p. 67, 68. —Ed.

Papists; and the king was addressed to remove the duke of York from his person and councils.

Though the king gave himself no credit to the plot, yet finding it impracticable to stem the tide of the people's zeal, he consented to the execution of the law upon several of the condemned criminals: Mr. Coleman, and five of the Jesuits, were executed at Tyburn, who protested their innocence to the last; and a year or two forward lord Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill. But the court party turned the plot into ridicule; the king told lord Halifax, "that it was not probable that the Papists should conspire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them?" says his majesty. "Yes (says his lordship), you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a prince that will gallop." The court employed their tool sir Roger L'Estrange,* to write a weekly paper against the plot; and the country party encouraged Mr. Car to write a weekly packet of advice from Rome, discovering the frauds and superstitions of that court; for which he was arraigned, convicted, and fined in the court of King's-bench, and his papers forbid to be printed. An admirable order for a Protestant court of judicature!

But it was impossible to allay the fears of the parliament, who had a quick sense of the dangers of Popery, and therefore passed a bill, to disable all persons of that religion from sitting in either house of parliament, which is still in force, being excepted out of the act of toleration.† The act requires all members of parliament to renounce by oath the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to declare the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints, practised in the church of Rome, to be idolatrous. Bishop Gunning argued against charging the church of Rome with idolatry; but the house paid him little regard; and when the bill was passed, he took the oath in common with the rest.

The duke of York got himself excepted out of the bill,‡ but the fears of his accession to the crown were so great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a bill into the house,

* This person, of whom we have already spoken, formerly called "Oliver's Fiddler," was now the admired "Buffoon of High-church." He called the shows, mentioned in our last note, "hobby-horsing processions." Calamy's MSS. p. 67.—ED.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 211.

‡ This point was carried in favour of the duke by no more than two votes. Had it been negatived, he would, in the next place, have been voted away from the king's presence. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 72.—ED.

to exclude him from the succession as a Papist; upon which the king came to the house November 9, and assured them, that he would consent to any bills for securing the Protestant religion, provided they did not impeach the right of succession, nor the descent of the crown in the true line, nor the just rights of any Protestant successor. But this not giving satisfaction, his majesty, towards the end of December, first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament, after they had been chosen almost eighteen years.*

It may be proper to observe concerning the Popish plot,* that though the king's life might not be immediately struck at, yet there was such strong evidence to prove the reality of a plot to subvert the constitution and introduce Popery, that no disinterested person can doubt it. Mr. Rapin, who had carefully considered the evidence, concludes that there was a meditated design, supported by the king and the duke of York, to render the king absolute, and introduce the Popish religion; for this is precisely what was meant by the plot: the design of killing the king was only an appendage to it, and an effect of the zeal of some private persons, who thought the plot would be crowned with the surer success, by speedily setting the duke of York upon the throne. Bishop Burnet adds,† that though the king and he agreed in private conversation, that the greatest part of the evidence was a contrivance, yet he confesses it appeared by Coleman's letters, that the design of converting the nation, and of rooting out the northern heresy, was very near being executed.‡

* It was a happy effect of the discovery of this plot, that while it raised in the whole body of the English Protestants alarming apprehensions of the dangers to which their civil and religious liberties were exposed, it united them against their common enemy. Mutual prejudices were softened; animosities subsided: the dissenters were regarded as the true friends of their country, and their assemblies began to be more public and numerous. At this time an evening lecture was set up in a large room of a coffee-house, in Exchange-alley: it was conducted by Mr. John Shower, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Dorrington, and Mr. Thomas Goodwin; and it was supported and attended by some of the principal merchants, and by several who afterward filled the most eminent posts in the city of London. *Tong's Life of Shower*, p. 17, 18.—ED.

† This corresponds with his declarations to sir John Keresby; whom at one time he told, in the presence of the lord-treasurer, at the dutchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, "he took it to be some artifice, and that he did not believe one word of the whole story." At another time his majesty said to him, "Bedloe was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given some false evidence concerning the death of sir Edmundbury Godfrey." *Memoirs*, p. 67. 72.

Dr. Grey refers to Eshard and bishop Burnet, as fully discrediting Mr. Neal's account of this plot; and with this view gives a long passage from Carte's *History of the Duke of Ormond*, vol. 2. p. 517.

The reader may see the evidence both for and against it fully and fairly stated by Dr. Harris, *Life of Charles II.* vol. 2. p. 137—157.—ED.

‡ Page 198—214.

To which I beg leave to add, that though the design of killing the king did not take place at this time, his majesty felt the effects of it, in his violent death, four or five years afterward.

This year died Mr. Thomas Vincent, M. A. the ejected minister of Milk-street, born at Hertford May 1634, and educated in Christ-church, Oxford.* He was chaplain to Robert earl of Leicester, and afterward minister of Milk-street, London, till the act of uniformity took place. He was an humble and a zealous preacher, of moderate principles, and an unspotted life. He continued in the city throughout the whole plague, the awfulness of which gave him a peculiar fervency and zeal in his ministerial work. On this occasion he published some very awakening treatises; as, "A spiritual antidote for a dying soul;" and, "God's terrible voice in the city."† He not only preached in public, but visited all the sick who sent for him in their infected houses, being void of all fear of death. He continued in health during the whole of that dreadful calamity, and was afterward useful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally respected by men of all persuasions; but his excessive labours put an end to his life October 15, 1678, in the forty-fifth year of his age.‡

Mr. Theophilus Gale, M. A. and fellow of Magdalen-college, Oxford, was ejected from Winchester, where he had been stated preacher for some time; after which he travelled abroad as tutor to the son of Philip lord Wharton. Upon his return, he settled with Mr. John Rowe as an assistant, in which station he died. The Oxford historian allows, that he was a man of great reading, an exact philologist and philosopher, a learned and industrious divine, as appears by his *Court of the Gentiles*, and the *Vanity of Pagan Philosophy*. He kept a little academy for the instruction of youth, and was well versed in the fathers, being at

* Cal. cont. p. 30.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 32. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 125.

‡ Mr. Thomas Vincent had the whole New Testament and Psalms by heart. He took this pains, as he often said, "not knowing but they who took from him his palpit, might in time demand his Bible also." Calamy. Besides his publications enumerated by this writer, Mr. Vincent, on occasion of an eruption of mount *Ætna*, published a book, entitled, "Fire and Brimstone: 1. From heaven in the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly. 2. From earth, in the burning of Mount *Ætna* lately. 3. From hell, in burning of the wicked eternally." 1670, 8vo. Granger's History, vol. 3, p. 329, note.—ED.

the same time a good metaphysician, and school divine.* He died of a consumption this year [1678], in the forty-ninth year of his age.†

The king having summoned a new parliament to meet in March, all parties exerted themselves in the elections; the Nonconformists appeared generally for those who were for prosecuting the Popish plot, and securing a Protestant succession: these being esteemed patriots and friends of liberty, in opposition to those who made a loud cry for the church, and favoured the arbitrary measures of the court, and the personal interest of the duke of York. The elections in many places were the occasion of great heat, but were carried almost every where against the court. Mr. Rapin says, that the Presbyterians, though long oppressed, were still numerous in corporations. The semi-conformists, as Mr. Echard calls the moderate churchmen, and the dissenters, were on one side, and the high churchmen and Papists on the other. Before the parliament assembled, the duke of York was sent out of the way to Flanders, but with this positive assurance, that his majesty would consent to nothing in prejudice of his right of succession. And farther to ingratiate himself with the people, and make a show of moderation, a new privy-council was chosen out of the low church party; but this not satisfying as long as the duke's succession was in view, the commons, soon after the opening the sessions, ordered in a bill to disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England, and carried it through the house with a high hand. Upon which his majesty came to the house, and dissolved them, before they had sat three months. This threw the nation into new convulsions, and produced a great number of pamphlets against the government, the act for restraining the press being lately expired.

The Popish plot having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of Roman Catholics, the cour-

* Mr. Gale was a frequent preacher in the university and a considerable tutor: bishop Hopkins was one of his pupils. He left all his real and personal estate for the education and benefit of poor students, and his library to the college in New-England, except the philosophical part, which he reserved for the use of students in England. The world had like to have lost his great and learned work, *The Court of the Gentiles*, in the fire of London. A friend, to whose care he left his desk while he was travelling, threw it into the cart merely to make the load, when he was removing his own goods. Palmer, p. 190. *British Biography*, vol. 5. p. 182—186.—Ed.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 64. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 189.

tiers attempted to relieve them, by setting on foot a sham Protestant plot, and fathering it upon the Presbyterians: * for this purpose spies and other mercenaries were employed, to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one Dangerfield, a subtle and dangerous Papist, but a very villain, who had been lately got out of jail by the assistance of one Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, a lewd woman, who carried him to the countess of Powis, whose husband was in the Tower for the Popish plot; with her he formed his scheme, and having got a list of the names of the chief Protestant nobility and gentry, he wrote treasonable letters to them, to be left at the houses of the Nonconformists and other active Protestants in several parts of England, that search being made upon some other pretences, when the letters were found, they might be apprehended for treason. At the same time, he intruded into the company of some of the most zealous enemies of Popery about town, and informed the king and the duke of York, that he had been invited to accept of a commission; that a new form of government was to be set up; and that the king and royal family were to be banished. The story was received with pleasure, and Dangerfield had a present, and a pension of 3*l.* a week, to carry on his correspondence. Having got some little acquaintance with colonel Mansel in Westminster, he made up a bundle of seditious letters, with the assistance of Mrs. Cellier, and having laid them in a dark corner of Mansel's room behind the bed, he sent for officers from the custom-house, to search for prohibited goods while he was out of town; but none were found, except the bundle of letters, which, upon examination of the parties concerned, before the king and council, were proved to be counterfeit; upon which the court disowned the plot, and having taken away Dangerfield's pension, sent him to Newgate. Search being made into Mrs. Cellier's house, there was found a little book in a meal-tub, written very fair, and tied up with ribands, which contained the whole scheme of the fiction. It was dictated by lady Powis, and proved by her maid to be laid there by her order, from whence it obtained the name of the Meal-tub plot. Dangerfield, who was a notorious liar, finding himself undone if he persisted in what he could

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 272. Rapin, vol. 2. p. 711.

not support, made an ample confession, and published a narrative, wherein he declared that he was employed by the Popish party; and chiefly by the Popish lords in the Tower, with the countess of Powis, to invent the Meal-tub plot, which was to have thrown the Popish plot wholly upon the Presbyterians. It was printed by order of the house of commons in the year 1680. Dangerfield being pardoned, went out of the way into Flanders; but returning to England in king James's reign, he was tried for it, and sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn; in his return from whence he was murdered by one Frances in the coach. Mrs. Cellier was tried June 11, 1680, before lord-chief-justice Scroggs, and acquitted for want of evidence. But the discovery, instead of relieving the Papists from the charge of the Popish plot, turned very much to their disadvantage; for when the next parliament met, the house of commons resolved, that sir Robert Can be expelled the house, and sent to the Tower, for declaring publicly in the city of Bristol, that there was no Popish but a Presbyterian plot.* Sir Robert Yeomans was sent into custody on the same account; and Mr. Richard Thompson, a clergyman, was impeached for decrying the Popish plot in his sermon, January 30, 1679, and for turning the same upon the Protestants; for which, and for preaching against the liberty and property of the subject, and the privileges of parliament, the house declared him a scandal and reproach to his profession.

This year [1679] died the reverend and learned Mr. Matt. Pool, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Michael's Querne: he was born in the city of York, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, a divine of great piety, charity, and literature. He was indefatigable in his labours, and left behind him (says the Oxford historian) the character of a most celebrated critic and casuist. After ten years' close application, he published his *Synopsis Criticorum*,†

* State Tracts, vol. 2. p. 217.

† "The plan of this work (says Mr. Granger) was judicious, and the execution more free from errors than seems consistent with so great a work, finished in so short a time, by one man." It includes not only an abridgment of the "*Critici Sacri*," and other expositors, but extracts from a great number of treatises and pamphlets, that would have been otherwise lost. It was undertaken by the advice of the learned bishop Lloyd; it was encouraged and patronized by Tillotson, and the king granted a patent for the privilege of printing it. Mr. Pool formed and completed a scheme for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the university of Cambridge, for the

in five folios. He afterward entered on a commentary upon the whole Bible, but proceeded no farther than the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah: however, the design, being valuable, was carried on, and completed by other hands. Mr. Pool published several excellent treatises, as *The Nullity of the Romish Faith, &c.* for which he was threatened to be assassinated; * his name being in Dr. Oates's list: he therefore retired to Holland, but died, as it is thought, by poison at Amsterdam, in the month of October, 1679, ætat. fifty-six.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin, born at Rolisby in Norfolk, and educated in Catherine-hall, Cambridge. He was a great admirer of Dr. Preston, and afterward himself a famous preacher in Cambridge. In 1634, he left the university, being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity. In 1639, he went into Holland, and became pastor of an Independent congregation at Arnheim. He returned to London about the beginning of the long-parliament, and was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly of divines. After the king's death, he was made president of Magdalen-college, and one of the triers of ministers. He was in high esteem with Oliver Cromwell, and attended him on his death-bed.† In the common register of the university he

study of divinity; and by his solicitations, in a short time raised 900*l.* a year for that purpose. The scheme sunk at the Restoration; but to it the world is said, in some measure, to owe Dr. Sherlock, afterward dean of St. Paul's. While he was drawing up his Synopsis, it was his custom to rise at three or four o'clock, and take a raw egg about eight or nine, and another about twelve; then to continue his studies till the afternoon was far advanced. He spent the evening at some friend's house, particularly alderman Ashurst's, and would be exceedingly but innocently merry: when it was nearly time to go home, he would give the conversation a serious turn, saying, "Let us now call for a reckoning." His "Annotations" were completed by other hands; the fifty-ninth and sixtieth chapters of Isaiah by Mr. Jackson of Moulsey. Dr. Collinges wrote the notes on the remainder of that prophet, on Jeremiah, Lamentations, the four Evangelists, the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and on the book of Revelations. The annotations on Ezekiel and the minor prophets were drawn up by Mr. Hurst, and on Daniel, by Mr. Wm. Cooper. Mr. Vinke commented on the Acts, Mr. Mayo on the Romans. The notes on the Ephesians, and the Epistles of James, Peter and Jude, were composed by Mr. Viel; on Philippians and Colossians, by Mr. Thomas Adams; on the Thessalonians by Mr. Barker; on the Hebrews by Mr. Obad. Hughes. Mr. Howe undertook the three Epistles of John. Calamy and Palmer, ut supra. Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 311; and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 36.—Ed.

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 14. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 133.

† On which occasion he was overheard by Dr. Tillotson to express himself, boldly and enthusiastically confident of the protector's recovery; and when he found himself mistaken, to exclaim, in a subsequent address to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." He was a man much addicted to retirement and deep contemplation, which dispose the mind to enthusiastical confidence. He and Dr. Owen

is said to be, "in scriptis theologicis quam plurimis orbi notus," i. e. well known to the world by many theological writings. After the Restoration he resigned his presidentialship, and retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry till his death, which happened February 23, 1679—80, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a good scholar, an eminent divine and textuary. His works are since printed in five folios.*

The last parliament being dissolved abruptly, a new one was convened for October 17, 1680, in which the elections went pretty much as in the last, the cry of the people being, No Popery, no pensioners, no arbitrary government. But the king prorogued them from time to time for above a twelvemonth, without permitting them to finish any business. His majesty falling sick in the summer, the duke of York returned immediately to court without the king's leave,† which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the sitting of the parliament to regulate the succession.‡ This gave rise to sundry petitions,§ signed by a great number of hands both in city and country, which the king received with the utmost displeasure, telling the petitioners, that he was sole judge of what was fit to be done: "You would not take it well (says he) if I should meddle with your affairs, and I desire you will not meddle with mine." After this the king issued out his proclamation, declaring them to be illegal, and forbidding his subjects to promote

are called by Wood, "the two Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency." In the fire of London he lost half of his library, to the value of 500*l.* but he was thankful that the loss fell on the books of human learning only, those on divinity being preserved. He is supposed to be the Independent minister and head of a college described by the "Spectator," no. 494. Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 16. Grey, vol. 1. p. 185. Granger, vol. 3. p. 303.—Ed.

* Calamy's Account, vol. 2. p. 61. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 185.

† If we may credit sir John Reresby, who says he had the whole story from Feversham, to whose intervention the revocation of the duke was principally owing; the king's illness was pretended, and the duke was sent for with his privy, though not above four persons knew any thing of the matter. The duke of Monmouth, who thought he had the king to himself, knew nothing of it, till his highness actually arrived at Windsor: "So close and reserved (says sir John), could the king be, when he conceived it to be necessary." *Memoirs*, p. 97, 98.—Ed.

‡ Echard, p. 982. 987.

§ Dr. Grey, by a quotation from Hornby's "Caveat against the Whigs," brings a charge against these petitions, that the signatures were obtained by bribes and impositions. Such practices, if truly stated in this instance, have not been confined to that occasion, or those times; but it is not easy to conceive, that a man of integrity, in any party, can have recourse to them. The proposal of adopting them ought to be rejected with contempt and indignation.—Ed.

any subscriptions, or to join in any petitions of this kind, upon peril of the utmost rigour of the law. Warrants were issued against several of the petitioners, and indictments preferred against others. But at the next sessions of the common-council of London, January 21, the court agreed that no such petition should be presented from them; and the king returned them thanks for it.* Upon which addresses were procured from divers parts of the nation, expressing their detestation and abhorrence of the seditious practice of the late petitioners, and referring the sitting of the parliament absolutely to the king's sovereign pleasure, from whence they obtained the name of abhorrrers. In these addresses, they offer their lives and fortunes for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, and for the succession of the duke of York. They renounce the right of the subjects petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of state, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative, promising to stand by it, and to be obedient without reserve to his majesty's commands; which addresses were printed in the *Gazettes*, and dispersed over the kingdom. These proceedings threw the people into a ferment; several of the privy-council deserted their stations, and desired to be excused their attendance at council; some in the admiralty resigned, and because they might not petition, an association was formed by sundry persons, and copied after the example of that in queen Elizabeth's time, for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the Protestant religion, and to revenge his majesty's death upon the Papists, if he should come to any violent death. A model of which was said to be found among the earl of Shaftesbury's papers. This was resented very highly at court, as done without the royal authority, and produced the next year another set of ranting addresses from all parts of the kingdom, in which their lives and fortunes were given up to the king, and the association branded with the names of damnable, cursed, execrable, traitorous, seditious, and a bond of rebellion, which they detest and abhor from their very souls; in most of which the Nonconformists are marked as enemies of the king and his government, and their conventicles as the encouragement and life of the associations. They promise to stand by the duke's succession, and to

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 276.

choose such members for the next parliament as shall do the king's business according to his mind. But notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the court, the near approach of a Popish successor awakened men's fears, and kept them upon their guard.

The petitioners for the sitting of the parliament, and their adversaries, the abhorers of such petitions, gave rise to the two grand parties which have since divided the nation, under the distinguishing names of Whig and Tory.

The whigs or low churchmen were the more zealous Protestants, declared enemies of Popery, and willing to remove to a farther distance from their superstitions; they were firm to the constitution and liberties of their country; and for a union, or at least a toleration, of dissenting Protestants. The clergy of this persuasion were generally men of larger principles, and therefore were distinguished by the name of Latitudinarian divines; their laity were remarkable for their zeal in promoting the bill of exclusion, as the only expedient to secure the Protestant establishment in this kingdom. They were for confining the royal prerogative within the limits of the law, for which reason their adversaries charged them with republican principles, and gave them the reproachful name of whigs, or sour milk, a name first given to the most rigid Scots covenanters.

The tories or high churchmen stood on the side of the prerogative, and were for advancing the king above law; they went into all the arbitrary court-measures, and adopted into our religion, says Dr. Welwood,* a Mahometan principle, under the names of passive obedience and nonresistance, which, since the times of that impostor who first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world. These gentlemen leaned more to a coalition with the Papists, than with the Presbyterians.† They cried up the name and authority of the church, and were for forcing the dissenters to conformity, by all kinds of coercive methods: but with all their zeal, they were many of them persons of lax and dissolute morals, and would risk the whole Protestant religion rather than go into any measures of exclusion, or limitation of a Popish successor. Most of the clergy, says a member of parliament, are infected with the Laudian principles of raising money without parliament; one

* *Memoirs*, p. 125.

† *Burnet, Collect. Debates*, p. 163.

or two bishops give measures to the rest, and they to their clergy, so that all derive their politics from one or two, and are under the influence of an overawing power. No men did more to enslave the nation, and introduce Popery into the establishment, than they: their adversaries therefore gave them the name of tories, a title first given to Irish robbers, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villanous enterprise.

The Nonconformists fell in unanimously with the whigs or low churchmen, in all points relating to liberty and the civil constitution, as they must always do if they are consistent with themselves; but these with their allies were not a sufficient balance for the tories, the road to preferment lying through the territories of power; but they were kept in heart with some secret hopes, that by a steady adherence to the constitution they should one time or other obtain a legal toleration. But the superior influence of the tories above the whigs, was the occasion of the severities which befel the Nonconformists in the latter part of this reign.

When the parliament met October 21, 1680, the commons were very warm in maintaining the Protestant religion and the privileges of parliament.* They asserted the rights of the people to petition for the sitting of parliaments, and voted the abhorers betrayers of the liberties of the nation. Among other grievances they complained, that the edge of the penal laws was turned against Protestant dissenters, while the Papists remained in a manner untouched—That the test-act had little effect, because the Papists, either by dispensation obtained from Rome, submitted to those tests, and held their offices themselves; or those put in their places were so favourable to the same interest, that Popery itself had rather gained than lost ground by that act. They declared for that very association, to revenge the king's death upon the Papists, if his majesty should happen to be assassinated, which the tories had abhorred: and in the month of November revived the bill to disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of these realms. It was introduced by lord Russel, and passed the commons by a great majority, but was thrown out of the house of lords by a majority of thirty voices,† noes 63, yeas

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 714. Echard, p. 995.

† Lord Halifax, a man of the clearest head, finest wit, and fairest eloquence, who

33, the bench of bishops being in the negative, and the king present during the whole debate. It has been said, king Charles came into the bill at first, the favourite mistress having prevailed with him to abandon his brother, for a large sum of money, and for an act of parliament to enable him to dispose of the crown by will, under certain restrictions; but a foreign Popish court offering more money, he opposed it to the last.*

The parliament being inclined to relieve the Nonconformists, appointed a committee November 18, who agreed upon a comprehension with the dissenters, upon much the same terms with those already mentioned; they were to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church: the surplice was to be omitted, except in cathedrals and the king's chapel; the ceremonies to be left indifferent. And as for such Protestants as could not be comprehended within these terms, they were to have a toleration, and freedom from the penal statutes, upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, &c. and of assembling with open doors. Bishop Burnet says, the bill for a comprehension was offered by the episcopal party in the house of commons, but that the friends of the dissenters did not seem forward to promote it, because, as Mr. Baxter observes, they found the bill would not go; or if it had passed the commons, it would have been thrown out by the bishops in the house of lords; the clergy, says Kennet, being no farther in earnest than as they apprehended the knife of the Papists at their throats.

When the above-mentioned bill was brought into the house December 21, entitled, An act for uniting his majesty's Protestant subjects, the first gentleman of the court party who spoke against it observed, "that there were a sort of men who would neither be advised nor overruled, but under the pretence of conscience break violently through all laws whatsoever, to the great disturbance both of church and state; therefore he thought it more convenient to have a law for forcing the dissenters to yield to the church, and

was in judgment against the bill, appeared as leader in opposition to it, and made so powerful a defence, that he alone, by the confession of all, influenced the house, and persuaded them to throw out the bill. "One would have thought (says sir John Reresby), that so signal a piece of service had been of a degree and nature never to be forgotten." But when the duke afterward came to be king, he removed lord Halifax from the privy seal to the presidency of the council, purely to make room for another, and in the end quite laid him aside. *Memoirs*, p. 104, 105.—*Ed.*

* Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 127.

not to force the church to yield to them—.” Another said, “he was afraid, that if once the government should begin to yield to the dissenters, it would be as in *forty-one*, nothing would serve but an utter subversion: the receiving of one thing would give occasion for demanding more; and it would be impossible to give them any satisfaction, without laying all open, and running into confusion.”* This was the common language of the tories. And there has been a loud cry against the dissenters, for their obstinacy and perverseness, though not a single concession had been offered since the Restoration, to let the world see how far they would yield; or by receiving a denial, to get an opportunity to reproach them with greater advantage. But in favour of the bill it was urged by others, “that it was intended for the preservation of the church, and the best bill that could be made in order thereto, all circumstances considered—If we are to deal with a stubborn sort of people, who in many things prefer their humour before reason, or their own safety, or the public good, this is a very good time to see whether they will be drawn by the cords of love or no. The bill will be very agreeable to the Christian charity which our church professes; and it may be hoped, that in the time of this imminent danger, they will consider their own safety, and the safety of the Protestant religion, and no longer keep afoot the unhappy divisions among us, on which the Papists ground their hopes; but when they see the church so far condescend, as to dispense with the surplice, and those other things they scruple, that they will submit to the rest which are enjoined by law, that so we may unite against the common enemy. But if this bill should not have the desired effect, but on the contrary, the dissenters should continue their animosities and disobedience to the church, I think still the church will gain very much hereby, and leave the party without excuse—.” This seems agreeable to reason.

Although the bill for a comprehension was committed, it did not pass the house, being changed for another, entitled, “An act to exempt his majesty’s Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties imposed upon the Papists by the act of 35th Eliz.”† By which act Nonconformists were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, or obliged to abjure, that is, depart, the realm never

* Echard, p. 999.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 300.

After so many ministers and their families have been brought into the utmost outward straits which nature can subsist under; after all their perpetual fears and dangers wherewith they have been exercised and disquieted, they think it hard to be censured for complaining, by them who are at ease." The doctor endeavoured to support his charge by the suffrage of the French Presbyterians; and Compton bishop of London applied to monsieur Le Moyne, and several others,* for their opinions; as if truth were to be determined by numbers; or as if the English Presbyterians could pay a vast deference to their judgments, who had so deceived them at the Restoration. The ministers, bred up in French complaisance and under French slavery, after high strains of compliment to the English bishops, declared, that they were of opinion, their brethren might comply;† and that they were not for pushing things to extremity only for a different form of government. Which the doctor and his friends interpreted as a decision in their favour. But did not the bishops exasperate the spirits of their dissenting brethren, by enforcing the sanguinary laws? Were these Protestant methods of conversion, or likely to bring them to temper? The French ministers complained sufficiently of this about five years after, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Bishop Burnet remarks of Dr. Stillingfleet on this occasion,‡ that he not only retracted his *Irenicum*, but went into the humours of the high sort of people beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things.

This year [1680] died Mr. Stephen Charnock, B. D. first

* Collyer, p. 900.

† Mr. Neal, it seems, has fallen into a mistake, by supposing that the French Presbyterians favoured English episcopacy. Their answers were complaisant, but wary. Yet Stillingfleet published their letters as suffrages for episcopacy, and annexed them to his *Treatise on Schism*. Mr. Claude, one of those written to, complained of this treatment; but the letters which contained these complaints were concealed till his death, when his son printed them. In one of them to bishop Compton, April 1681, he freely told him, that the bishops were blamed for their eagerness to persecute others by penal laws, for their arbitrary and despotic government; for their rigid attachment to offensive ceremonies; for requiring foreign Protestant ministers to be reordained; and for not admitting any to the ministry without making an oath that episcopacy is of divine right, which Mr. Claude called a cruel rack for conscience. He solemnly called on the bishops, in the name of God, to remove these grounds of complaints, to give no cause, no pretext, for separation, to do all in their power to prevent it, and instead of chafing and irritating people's minds, by all gentle methods to conciliate them. This was excellent advice: but the public were not informed, that it had been given by those to whom it was addressed. *Robinson's Life of Claude*, prefixed to his translation of an *Essay on the Composition of Sermons*, p. 65—67.

—Ed.

‡ Vol. 1. p. 276.

of Emanuel-college, Cambridge; and afterward fellow of New-college, Oxford. He was chaplain to Henry Cromwell, lieutenant of Ireland, and was much respected by persons of the best quality in the city of Dublin for his polite behaviour. After the Restoration he returned into England, and became pastor of a separate congregation in London, where he was admired by the more judicious part of his hearers, though not popular, because of his disadvantageous way of reading with a glass: he was an eminent divine, and had a good judgment, a curious imagination, and a strong manner of reasoning, as appears by his works printed since his death in two volumes folio, which were no other than his common sermons transcribed from his notes;* his style is manly and lofty, and his thoughts sublime: his love and charity were very extensive, and there was no part of learning to which he was a stranger.† He died July 26, 1680, aged fifty-two.

[On December 26th, 1680, died at London, where he came to be cut for the stone, with which he was many years afflicted, Mr. John Corbet, ejected from Bramshot in Hants; a man every way great. He was a native of the city of Gloucester, and a student in Magdalen-hall, Oxon. He began his ministry in the place of his nativity, and lived many years there, and during the civil wars, of which he was a spectator. He wrote the history of the siege of the city, and is thought to have given as good an insight into the rise and springs of the civil war as can be met with in so narrow a compass. He removed from thence to Chichester, and then to the living from which he was ejected. After this he lived privately in and about London, till king Charles's indulgence in 1671, when part of his flock invited him to return to Chichester, where he continued his ministrations with great assuidity and success. It was during his residence there that bishop Gunning gave a public challenge to the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers. (See chapter VIII. p. 396 of this volume.) Mr. Corbet accepted it on behalf of the first; but, after the bishop had fired his own volley of invectives, Mr. Corbet was not permitted to

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 56. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 159.

† Mr. Johnson, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "he never knew a man in all his life, who had attained near to that skill Mr. Charnock had, in the originals of the Old and New Testament, except Mr. Thomas Cawton." Granger, vol. 3. p. 308.—Ed.

enter into a defence ; nor, though he proposed to do it at any other time and waited on the bishop at his palace, could he afterward obtain a hearing. He was a man of great moderation, a lover of peace, an advocate for catholic communion and union of saints, and of blameless conversation. He saw some things to approve and some things to dislike in all parties, and valued not the interest of a party or faction. True to his conscience, he had no worldly designs to carry on, but was eminent in self-denial, and managed his ministry with faithfulness and prudence. He was tender of the reputation of his brethren, and rejoiced in the success of their labours as well as of his own. Nor was he apt to speak against those by whom he suffered. He was very free in acknowledging by whom he profited, and preferring others before himself. He was much in the study of his own heart, had the comfort of sensible improvements in faith and holiness, humility and heavenly mindedness, and died at last in great serenity and peace. He had a considerable hand in compiling Mr. Rushworth's first volume of Collections, which is reckoned by good judges a masterpiece of the kind. His *Self-employment in Secret*, an excellent small piece, recommended lately by Mr. Bulkley in his *Christian Minister*, has gone through various editions. Mr. Howe wrote a preface to it. Dr. Wright reprinted it in 1741, and the Rev. William Unwin, rector of Stock cum Ramsden-Belhouse, Essex, published it again in 1773, with the encomiums of a celebrated minister of the church of England upon it, as "the best manual he knew for a Christian or a minister, furnishing excellent materials for addressing conscience, and directing men to judge of their spiritual state." Calamy, vol. 2. p. 333. Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. 2. p. 4.—ED.]

The king having parted with his last parliament in displeasure, without being able to obtain any money, resolved once more to try a new one ;* and apprehending that the malecontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of London, he summoned them to meet at Oxford : the same representatives being rechosen for London, had a paper put into their hands by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then assembled in the common-hall, containing a return of their most hearty thanks for their faithful

* Echard, p. 1002. Rapin, vol. 2. p. 720.

and unwearied endeavours in the two last parliaments, to search into the depth of the Popish plot, to preserve the Protestant religion, to promote a union among his majesty's Protestant subjects, to repeal the 35th of Eliz. and the corporation-act, and to promote the bill of exclusion, and to request their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to Oxford with a numerous body of horse, having ribands in their hats with this motto, "No Popery; no slavery;" the citizens having promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes. Many other papers of the like nature were presented to the members in the several counties. The king, in his speech at the opening the sessions, March 21, reflected severely on the last parliament, and said, He was resolved to maintain the succession of the crown in the right line, and for quieting people's fears, he was willing to put the administration into the hands of a Protestant regent; but the commons rejected the proposal, to the inexpressible joy of the duke's party, and ordered the bill of exclusion to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to consider of the loss of the bill in favour of the dissenters last parliament. Sir William Jones said, "The bill was of great moment and service to the country, and might be to their lives, in the time of a Popish successor; but be the bill what it will, the precedent was of the highest consequence; the king has a negative to all bills, but surely the clerk of the parliament has not.—If this way be found out, that bills shall be thrown by, it may be hereafter be said, they were forgot and laid by, and so we shall never know whether the king passed them or no: if this be suffered, 'tis in vain to spend time here."—In conclusion this affair was referred to a conference with the house of lords, which was frustrated by the hasty dissolution of the parliament.

The next went upon the libel of one Fitz-Harris, an Irish Papist, which was a second meal-tub plot, promoted in the name of the Nonconformists;* the libel was to be sent by penny-post letters to the lords who had protested in favour of the bill of exclusion, and to the leading men in the house commons, who were immediately to be apprehended and searched. Everard, who was Fitz-Harris's confidant, and betrayed the secret, affirmed that the king

* Burnet, p. 303, 304.

himself was privy to it, as Fitz-Harris's wife averred to a person of worth many years after; that his majesty had given Fitz-Harris money, and promised him more if it met with success. The libel was, to traduce the king and the royal family as Papists, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning, and says, that king Charles I. had a hand in the Irish rebellion;—that the act forbidding to call the king a Papist, was only to stop men's mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the people to depose a Popish possessor as a Popish successor. It was entitled, *The True Englishman speaking plain English*; and adds, "If James be conscious and guilty, Charles is so too; believe me, these two brothers in iniquity, are in confederacy with the pope and the French, to introduce Popery and arbitrary government, and to cast off parliaments, magna charta, and the liberty of the subject, as heavy yokes, and to be as arbitrary as the king of France—Let the English move and rise as one man to self-defence; blow the trumpet, stand on your guard, and withstand them as bears and tigers—Trust to your swords in defence of your lives, liberties, and religion, like the stout earl of old, who told his king, if he could not be defended by magna charta, he would be relieved by longa spada." He goes on to reproach the king with the breach of his Scots oaths, Breda promises, Protestant profession, liberty of conscience; as designed only to delude Protestants; and puts him in mind of all his political and moral vices, as intended to debauch the nation, to promote the Popish religion and arbitrary government, &c. Thus were the Nonconformists to be exposed again to the resentments of the nation; but when the sham was discovered to the house of commons by sir William Waller, he received the thanks of the house, and Fitz-Harris, though impeached in parliament, was tried by a jury, and executed with Dr. Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland. The whigs would have saved Fitz-Harris, though a Papist, in hopes of his being an evidence in the Popish plot; but the court was resolved to dispatch him out of the way, that he might tell no more tales.

His majesty, hearing that the bill of exclusion was to be brought into the house again, went suddenly, and not very decently, says Burnet,* to the house of lords in a sedan,

* Burnet, p. 306.

with the crown between his feet, and having put on his robes in haste, called up the commons, and dissolved his fifth and last parliament, after they had sat only seven days. As soon as his majesty got out of the house, he posted away in all haste to Windsor, as one that was glad he had got rid of his parliament, which was the last that he ever convened; though he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of England for the present; all that followed to the king's death was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man. The king raised what money he wanted without parliaments; he took away all the charters of England, and governed absolutely by dint of prerogative. April the 8th, the king published a declaration* to all his loving subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last parliaments; and ordered it to be read in all the churches and chapels throughout England. It contains a recital of his majesty's condescensions for the security of the Protestant religion, as far as was consistent with the succession of the crown in the lineal descent: and a large rehearsal of the unsuitable returns of the commons. But notwithstanding all this, says his majesty, let not these men, who are labouring to poison our people with commonwealth principles, persuade any of our subjects that we intend to lay aside the use of parliaments, for we still declare, that no irregularities in parliaments shall make us out of love with them; and we are resolved, by the blessing of God, to have frequent parliaments;” although he never called another. Several anonymous remarks were made upon this declaration, to weaken its influence. But the court used all its interest among the people to support its credit: addresses were sent from all parts, thanking his majesty for his declaration, promising to support his person and government with their lives and fortunes. Most of them declared against the bill of exclusion, and for the duke's succession,† as has been observed. Some ventured to arraign the late parliament as guilty of sedition and trea-

* It was observed, Dr. Calamy says, that “this declaration was known by M. Barillon, the French ambassador, and by the dutchess of Mazarine, sooner than by the king's council, and that it was evidenced to be of French extraction by the gallicisms in it; and withal it had no broad seal to it, and was signed only by a clerk of the council.” *Own Life*, MS. p. 74.—ED.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 308, 309.

son, and to pray his majesty to put in execution the statute of 35 Eliz. against the Nonconformists. The grand juries, the justices at their session, divers boroughs and corporations, the companies in towns, and at last the very apprentices, sent up addresses. Those who presented or procured them were well treated at court, and some of them knighted. Many zealous healths were drank, and in their cups the swaggerings of the old cavaliers seemed to be revived. One of the most celebrated addresses was from the university of Cambridge, presented by Dr. Gower master of St John's, which I shall give the reader as a specimen of the rest. It begins thus: "Sacred sir! We your majesty's most faithful and obedient subjects have long, with the greatest and sincerest joy, beheld the generous emulation of our fellow-subjects, contending who should best express their duty to their sovereign at this time, when the seditious endeavours of unreasonable men have made it necessary to assert the ancient loyalty of the English nation.—It is at present the great honour of this your university, not only to be steadfast and constant in our duty, but to be eminently so, and to suffer for it as much as the calumnies and reproaches of factious and malicious men can inflict upon us. And that they have not proceeded to sequestration and plunder, as heretofore, next to the overruling providence of Almighty God, is only due to the royal care and prudence of your most answered majesty, who gave so seasonable a check to their arbitrary and insolent undertakings.—We still believe and maintain, that our kings derive not their power from the people, but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture, can alter or diminish; nor will we abate of our well-instructed zeal for the church of England as by law established.—Thus we have learned our own, and thus we teach others their duty to God and the king."—His majesty discovered an unusual satisfaction on this occasion, and after having returned them thanks, was pleased to add, that no other church in the world taught and practised loyalty so conscientiously as they did.

As such abject and servile flattery could not fail of pleas-

ing the king, it must necessarily draw down vengeance on the Nonconformists, who joined in none of their addresses, but were doomed to suffer under a double character, as whigs, and as dissenters. "This (says bishop Burnet*) was set on by the Papists, and it was wisely done of them, for they knew how much the Nonconformists were set against them. They made use also of the indiscreet zeal of the high-church clergymen to ruin them, which they knew would render the clergy odious, and give the Papist great advantage when opportunity offered." The times were boisterous and stormy; sham plots were contrived, and warrants issued against the leaders of the whig party for seditious language; Shaftesbury, now called the Protestant earl, was sent to the Tower, and Stephen College, the Protestant joiner, was carried to Oxford, and hanged, after the grand jury in London had brought in a bill of indictment against him *ignoramus*. Witnesses were imported from Ireland, and employed to swear away men's lives. "The court intended to set them to swear against all the hot party, which was plainly murder in them who believed them false witnesses (says Burnet†), and yet made use of them to destroy others." Spies were planted in all coffee-houses, to furnish out evidence for the witnesses. Mercenary justices were put into commission all over the kingdom; juries were packed; and with regard to the Nonconformists, informers of the vilest of the people were countenanced to a shameful degree, insomuch that the jails were quickly filled with prisoners, and large sums of money extorted from the industrious and conscientious, and played into the hands of the most profligate wretches in the nation.

The justices of Middlesex shewed great forwardness; and represented to his majesty in December, "that an intimation of his pleasure was necessary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution against conventicles, because when a charge was lately given at the council-board to put the laws in execution against Popish recusants, no mention was made of suppressing conventicles." Upon this his majesty commanded the lord-mayor, aldermen, and justices, to use their utmost endeavour to suppress all conventicles and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worship; for it was his express pleasure, that the laws be effectually put

* Page 306.

† Page 315.

in execution against them, both in city and country. Accordingly the justices of peace at their sessions at Hickeys-hall, January 13, ordered, "that whereas the constables and churchwardens, &c. of every parish and precinct within the said county, had been enjoined last sessions to make a return the first day of this, of the names of the preachers in conventicles, and the most considerable frequenters of the same within their several limits; which order not being obeyed, but contemned by some, it was therefore by the justices then assembled desired, that the lord-bishop of London will please to direct those officers which are under his jurisdiction, to use their utmost diligence, that all such persons may be excommunicated, who commit crimes deserving the ecclesiastical censure; and that the said excommunications may be published in the parishes where the persons live, that they may be taken notice of, and be obvious to the penalties that belong to persons excommunicate, viz. not to be admitted for a witness, or returned upon juries, or capable of suing for any debt." They farther ordered at the same time, "that the statute of the first of Eliz. and third of king James, be put in due execution, for the levying twelve-pence per Sunday upon such persons who repaired not to divine service and sermons at their parish or some other public church." All which, says Mr. Echard, made way for all sorts of prosecutions both in city and country, which in many places were carried on with great spite and severity, where there never wanted busy agents and informers, of which a few were sufficient to put the laws in execution; so that the dissenters this year and much longer, says he, met with cruel and unchristian usage; which occasioned great complaints among the people, and some severe reflections on the king himself.

It was not in the power of the church-whigs to relieve the Nonconformists, nor screen them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done was to encourage their constancy, and to write some compassionate treatises to move the people in their favour, by shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their Protestant dissenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of Popery upon its ruins. Among other writings of this sort, the most famous was, The

Conformists' Plea for the Nonconformists, in four parts, by a beneficed minister and a regular son of the church of England. In which the author undertakes to shew, 1. The greatness of their sufferings. 2. The hardships of their case. 3. The reasonableness and equity of their proposals for union. 4. The qualifications and worth of their ministers. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their agreement with the church of England in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the church by their exclusion; and then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives, and lamentable deaths, of several of the informers. It was a sensible and moving performance, but had no influence on the tory justices, and tribe of informers. There was no stemming the tide; every one who was not a furious tory, says Rapin, was reputed a Presbyterian.

Most of the clergy were with the court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits every where resounded with the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, which were carried to all the heights of king Charles I. No eastern monarch, according to them, was more absolute than the king of England.* They expressed such a zeal for the duke's succession, as if a Popish king over a Protestant country had been a special blessing from heaven. They likewise gave themselves such a loose against Protestant Nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that party. In all their sermons, Popery was quite forgot, says Burnet, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against Protestant dissenters. In many country places the parson of the parish, who could bully, and drink, and swear, was put into the commission of the peace, and made a confiding justice, by which means he was both judge and party in his own cause. If any of his sober parishioners did not appear at church, they were sure to be summoned, and instead of the mildness and gentleness of a Christian clergyman, they usually met with haughty and abusive language, and the utmost rigour the law could inflict. There was also a great change made in the commissions throughout England. A set of confiding magistrates was appointed; and none were left on the bench, or in the militia, that did not declare for the arbitrary measures of the court; and such of the clergy as were averse to this

* Rapin, p. 725. Burnet, p. 309.

fury, were declaimed against as betrayers of the church, and secret favourers of the dissenters; but the truth is, says the bishop, the number of sober honest clergymen was not great, for where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The scent of preferment will draw aspiring men after it. Upon the whole, the present times were very lowering, and the prospect under a Popish successor still more threatening.

It would fill a volume, to enter into all the particulars of these unchristian proceedings, which even the black registers of the spiritual courts cannot fully unfold. The reverend Mr. Edward Bury, assisting at a private fast, on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended June 14, and fined 20*l.*; and refusing to pay it, because he did not preach, they took away his goods, books, and even the bed he lay upon. The reverend Mr. Philip Henry was apprehended at the same time, and fined 40*l.* and for nonpayment they carried away thirty-three loads of corn which lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The informers took the names of one hundred and fifty more, who were at the meeting: they fined the master of the house 20*l.* and 5*l.* more as being constable that year, and exacted 5*s.* a head from all who were present. Examples of this usage in London, Middlesex, and most of the counties of England, are innumerable.

The Quakers published a narrative of the sufferings of their friends since the Restoration, by which it appeared, that great numbers had been fined by the bishops' courts, robbed of their substance, and perished in prison.* Many had been so beaten and wounded for attending their meetings, that they died of their wounds. An account was also published, of the unjust proceedings of the informers, shewing, that at their instance many had been plundered without a juridical process; that seven hundred of them were now in prison in several parts of England, and especially about Bristol; but remonstrances and complaints availed nothing.

In the midst of this furious persecution, the famous Mr. Thomas Gouge, son of Dr. Gouge of Blackfriars, and the ejected minister of St. Sepulchre's, was taken out of this world: he was born at Bow near Stratford 1605, bred at Eton-school, and educated in King's-college, Cambridge.†

* Sewel, p. 574. 581.

† Tillotson's Works, vol. 1. p. 265.

He settled at St. Sepulchre's in the year 1638, and for twenty-four years discharged all the parts of a vigilant and faithful pastor. He was a wonder of piety, charity, humility, and moderation, making it his study to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man. Mr. Baxter says, he never heard any man speak to his dishonour, except that he did not conform. He was possessed of a good estate, and devoted the chief of it to charity. He settled schools to the number of three or four hundred, and gave money to teach children to read in the mountainous parts of Wales, where he travelled annually, and preached, till he was forbid by the bishops, and excommunicated, though he still went as a hearer to the parish churches. He printed eight thousand Welsh Bibles,* a thousand of which were given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal towns of Wales, to be sold at an under rate. He printed five hundred of the *Whole Duty of Man* in Welsh, and gave them away; two hundred and forty New Testaments; and kept almost two thousand Welsh children at school to learn English. Archbishop Tillotson, in his funeral sermon, says, that, all things considered, there has not since the primitive times of Christianity been many among the sons of men, to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, that he went about doing good.† He was a divine of a cheerful spirit, and went away quietly, in his sleep, October 29, 1681, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.‡

* In these charitable works, as we have seen before, he was assisted by his friends. The great business of his life was to do good. He annually travelled over Wales, inspecting the schools and instructing the people, both in public and private, till he was between sixty and seventy years of age. He sustained great loss by the fire of London, and after the death of his wife and the settlement of his children, his fortune was reduced to 150*l.* per annum; out of which he constantly expended 100*l.* in works of charity. He had a singular sagacity and prudence in devising the most effectual ways of doing good: and his example gave the first hint to Mr. T. Firmin of that plan of furnishing the poor with employment, which he so extensively and generously pursued. His funeral sermon was preached by doctor, afterward archbishop, Tillotson. Palmer.

—J.D.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 8.

‡ The learned and excellent Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph, who endeavoured by argument to remove the scruples of the dissenters, and to bring them back into the church by mild and Christian methods, after some private conferences, called on Mr. James Owen, to produce his reasons for preaching without ordination by diocesan bishops, at the public hall of Oswestry, on the 27th of September, of the year 1681. The bishop was attended by the learned Mr. Henry Dodwell; Mr. Owen's supporters were, Mr. Philip Henry, Mr. Jonathan Roberts of Slainvair, in Denbighshire, an excellent scholar and warm disputant. The dispute began at two in the afternoon, and ended between eight and nine. Several points, connected with the main question, "concerning the necessity of ordination by diocesan bishops, in uninterrupted succession from the apostles," were debated. The effects of this discussion were various: but no converts were made by it. The bishop procured respect by his

While the tories and high-church clergy were ravaging the dissenters, the court was intent upon subverting the constitution, and getting the government of the city into their hands. June 24, 1682, there was a contest about the election of sheriffs, which occasioned a considerable tumult. And when the election of a lord-mayor came on at Michaelmas, the citizens were again in an uproar, the lord-mayor pretending a right to adjourn the court, while the sheriffs, to whom the right belonged, continued the poll till night; when the books were cast up, each party claimed the majority according to their respective books. The contest rose so high, that sir William Pritchard, lord-mayor, was afterward arrested at the suit of Mr. Papillon and Dubois, and detained prisoner in Skinner's-hall till midnight. But when the affair came to a trial, the election was vacated, Papillon and Dubois were imprisoned, and the leading men of the whig party, who had distinguished themselves in the contest, were fined in large sums of money, which made way for the loss of the charter.

The court would have persuaded the common-council to make a voluntary surrender of it to the crown, to put an end to all contests for the future;* but not being able to prevail, they resolved to condemn it by law; accordingly a *quo warranto* was issued out of the court of King's bench, to see whether its charter had been duly observed, because the common-council, in one of their addresses, had petitioned for the sitting of the parliament, and had taxed the prorogation as a delay of justice; and because they had laid taxes on their wharfs and markets contrary to law. After trial upon these two points, the chief-justice delivered it as the unanimous opinion of the court, that the liberties and franchises of the city of London had been forfeited, and might be seized into the king's hands, but judgment was not to be entered till the king's pleasure was farther known. In the mean time the lord-mayor and common-council, who are the representatives of the city, agreed to submit to the king's mercy, and sent a deputation to Windsor, June 18, 1683, to beg pardon; which the king was pleased to grant on con-

exemplary candour; and Mr. Philip Henry, by his prudent and primitive temper, and the mildness of his manner, recommended himself to the high esteem of the prelate and the company. Mr. James Owen's *Life*, p. 29—35.—Ed.

* Burnet, p. 354—357. Rapin, p. 727.

dition that his majesty might have a negative in the choice of all the chief magistrates—that if his majesty disapproved of their choice of a lord-mayor they should choose another within a week—and that if his majesty disapproved their second choice he should himself nominate a mayor for the year ensuing; and the like as to sheriffs, aldermen, &c.* When this was reported to the common-council, it was put to the vote, and upon a division, one hundred and four were for accepting the king's regulation, and eighty-six against it; but even these concessions continued no longer than a year. The charter of London being lost, the cities and corporations in general were prevailed with to deliver up their charters, and accept of such new ones as the court would grant, which was the highest degree of perfidy and baseness in those who were intrusted with them, especially when they knew, that the design was to pack a parliament, in order to make way for a Popish successor.

Thus the liberties of England were delivered up to the crown; and though the forms of law remained, men's lives and estates were at the mercy of a set of profligate creatures, who would swear any thing for hire. Juries, says Burnet,† were a shame to the nation, and a reproach to religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon the evidence. Zeal against Popery was decried as the voice of a faction, who were enemies to the king and his government. All rejoicings on the 5th of November were forbid, and strict orders given to all constables and other officers to keep the peace; but the populace not being so orderly as they should have been, several London apprentices were fined twenty marks for a riot, and set in the pillory. These were the triumphs of a tory and Popish administration.

A little before this died old Mr. Thomas Case, M. A. educated in Christ-church, Oxford, and one of the assembly of divines: he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the morning exercises, but was turned out of his living at St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, for refusing the engagement, and imprisoned for Mr. Love's plot; he was afterward rector of St. Giles's, and waited on the king at Breda.‡ He was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and si-

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 403. Gazette, no. 1835.

† Page 359.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 13. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 124.

tenced with his brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted man, an excellent preacher, of a warm spirit, and a hearty lover of all good men. He died May 30, 1682, aged eighty-four.*

Mr. Samuel Clarke, the ejected minister of St. Benet's Fink, was an indefatigable student, as appears by his Martyrology, his Lives of eminent Divines, and other historical works: he was a good scholar, and had been a useful preacher in Cheshire and Warwickshire, before he came to London; he was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and presented the Presbyterian ministers' address of thanks to the king for his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and though he could not conform as a preacher, he frequently attended the service of the church as a hearer and communicant. He died December 25, 1682, ætatis eighty.†

While the liberties of England lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever against the Nonconformists, as inflexible enemies of their arbitrary measures.‡ Mr. Baxter was surprised in his own house by a company of constables and other peace-officers, who arrested him for coming within five miles of a corporation, and brought warrants to distrain upon him for five sermons, amounting

* He survived every one of the dissenters that sat in the assembly of divines. Mr. Baxter styles him "a holy faithful servant of God." It is painful, however, to reflect, that a man whose character appears in general to have been venerable and amiable, should be so transported by the heat of the times, as, in a sermon preached before the court-martial in 1644, to say; "Noble sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to those that have sinned of malice's wickedness;" meaning the royalists, who were frequently styled malignants. This, as Mr. Granger observes, is sanguinary. It may be added, that it conveyed also a false idea of the divine clemency, which extends its exercise on repentants, to all characters; to sins of malignity as well as of infirmity. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 317, 318.—Ed.

† When Mr. Clarke was ejected, he had been forty years in the ministry, during which time he had been seven or eight years a governor, and two years a president of St. John's college. The most valuable of his numerous works are reckoned to be "Lives of the Puritan divines and other persons of note." "The author and the bookseller (says Mr. Granger) seem to have been thoroughly informed of this secret, that a taking title-page becomes much more taking, with an engraved frontispiece before it; and that little pictures, in the body of the book, are great embellishments to style and matter." He was more a compiler than an author. His name was anagrammatized to *Dr. (c) kall Cream*, alluding to his taking the best parts of those books from which he collected. One is sorry to find, in the list of his publications, A discourse against Toleration. He enjoyed about nine years the living of Alcester in Warwickshire, where his preaching was very useful, and the town became exemplary for sobriety, which had borne the character of drunken Alcester. He met death with a lively sense of eternity upon his mind, and a comfortable assurance of his own title to future blessedness. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 88, &c. Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 321.—Ed.

Mr. Clarke was the great grandfather of Dr. Samuel Clarke of St. Alban's, the patron of Dr. Doddridge's youthful studies.—Ed.

‡ Part 3. p. 191.

to 195*l*. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some time, and were carrying him to jail; but Dr. Cox the physician, meeting him in the way, went and made oath before a justice of peace, that he could not be removed to prison without danger of his life, so he was permitted to go home again to bed; but the officers rifled his house, took away such books as he had, and sold even the bed from under him. Dr. Amesley, and several other ministers, had their goods distrained for latent convictions; that is, upon the oaths of persons they never saw, nor received summons to answer for themselves before a justice of peace. This was stabbing men in the dark. Some were imprisoned on the corporation-act. The reverend Mr. Vincent was tried and convicted at the Surrey-assizes on the 35*th* of queen Elizabeth, already mentioned: he lay in prison many months, but was at last released by the intercession of some great men. The dissenting laity were harassed every where in the spiritual courts, warrants were signed for distresses, in the village of Hackney alone, to the sum of 1400*l*. one of which was 500*l*. The reader will then judge what must have been the case of the interest in general.*

But in the midst of this oppression and violence, the court found that the spirit of English liberty was not easily to be subdued: there were a set of patriots who stood in their way, and were determined to hazard their lives and fortunes for the constitution; these were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the compass of some pretended plot against the government. Some, who were more zealous than prudent, met together in clubs at the taverns and other places, to talk over the common danger, and what might be done to secure their religion and liberties in case of the king's death; but there was no formed design in any of them against the king or the present government. The court however laid hold of this oc-

* The temper of the court and church at this time inclined Mr. John Shower to attend the nephew of sir Samuel Barnardiston on his travels, in compliance with the earnest request of his uncle, in company with several other gentlemen, which we mention here to introduce the following passage. When they were at Geneva, where they continued for some time, they contracted an acquaintance with Turretin the younger. On their first conversation they found this learned divine and the rest of the city possessed with very unfavourable sentiments concerning the English Nonconformists. But when Mr. Shower and his companions had stated their case, and the terms required of them, Turretin and the others declared themselves well satisfied with the grounds of their dissent, and treated them, during the remainder of their residence in the city, with a very particular respect. *Tong's Life of Shower*, p. 48.—*Ed.*

casion, and, as Mr. Coke says, set on foot three plots; one to assassinate the king and duke as they came from Newmarket; another to seize the guards; and a third was called the Blackheath plot; in all which, for aught I can find, says he, the fox was the finder. Dr. Welwood adds,* that the shattered remains of English liberty were attacked on every side, and some of the noblest blood in the nation offered up a sacrifice to the manes of Popish martyrs. Swearing came into fashion, and an evidence office was set up at Whitehall; the witnesses were highly encouraged, and, instead of judges and juries that might boggle at half evidence, care was taken to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a turn. The plot which the court made use of was called the Ryehouse plot,† from the name of the house where the two royal brothers were to be shot; it was within two miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, and was first discovered by one Keeling an Anabaptist; after him Goodenough, Rumsey, and West, made themselves witnesses, and framed a story out of their own heads, of lopping off the two brothers, as they came from Newmarket; and having heard of conferences between the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and others, concerning securing the Protestant religion upon the king's decease, they impeached them to the council, upon which lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, the earl of Essex, and Mr. Houlton, were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Warrants were issued out for several others, who, knowing that innocence was in these times no sufficient protection, absconded, and went out of the way; but several were tried, and executed upon the court-evidence; as Mr. Rumbold, the master of the house where the plot was to take place, who declared at his execution in king James's reign, that he never knew of any design against the king; as did captain Walcot and sir Thomas Armstrong, Rouse, and the rest. Lord Russel was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of some treasonable words at Mr. Shepherd's, a wine-cooper in Abchurch-lane.‡ The earl of Essex's throat was cut in the Tower § during lord Russel's

* Memoirs, p. 132.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 368—373.

‡ P. 382.

§ Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal's account of the Ryehouse plot as very faulty, if not false; "as appears (he says) from the very best of our historians, and the confession of several that suffered for it." The historians to whom the doctor refers are Robard, Kennet, &c. and principally bishop Sprat's History of the Ryehouse Plot. As to this work, the most partial to it must own it detracts greatly from its credit; that it was drawn up to please the court, by one that was wholly in that interest; and

trial;* and Algernon Sidney was executed for having a seditious libel in his study;† of the injustice of which the parliament at the Revolution was so sensible, that they reversed the judgments. A proclamation was issued out against the duke of Monmouth, though the king knew where he was; and after the ferment brought him to court. Mr. Echard observes, that some have called this the Fanatic, the Protestant, the Whiggish, or Presbyterian plot; others have called it, with more justice, a piece of state policy, and no better than an imposture, for it had no other foundation than the rash and imprudent discourse of some warm whigs, which, in so critical a conjuncture, was very hazardous; but no scheme of a plot had been agreed upon, no preparations made, no arms nor horses purchased, nor persons appointed to execute any design against the king or government.‡ However, the court had their ends in striking terror into the whole party.

the author, it seems, acknowledges, "that king James II. called for his papers, and having read them, altered divers passages, and caused them to be printed by his own authority." Calamy's Letter to Archdeacon Echard, p. 55. Dr. Grey ironically calls Mr. Neal's account of the earl of Essex's death, a candid remark; and then refers to, and quotes largely, Carte's and Echard's representations of that event, to shew that the earl was *felo de se*. This is not the place to discuss the question concerning his lordship's death, whether he committed an act of suicide, or was murdered by others. Dr. Harris has fully and impartially stated the arguments on both sides. History of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 371—376. The same judicious writer has also investigated the evidence concerning the Ryehouse plot, p. 355—370.—ED.

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 161.

† This was an answer to Filmer's book, written to prove the absolute and unlimited power of kings. The leading principle of this MS. was, "that power is delegated from the people to the prince, and that he is accountable to them for the abuse of it." It was urged, that he was not proved to have written the piece; that if he were the author, it contained only his private speculations; that it could not be admitted as a proof of the plot, for it was written years before; and that, as it was not a finished piece, it could not be known how it would end; and no general conclusion ought to be drawn from any particular chapter of a work. The book was, however, considered by Jefferies as an overt-act, on this principle, *Scribers est agere*. It is remarkable, that within a few years, the energy and truth of the above principle removed James II. from the throne, and placed on it the prince of Orange. So vain is it to fight against just principles!—ED.

‡ "Mr. Neal must think his readers (says Dr. Grey) very easy of belief to swallow down such gross untruths as these, which the smallest dabbler in the history of those times can easily confute." The reader, who is not a dabbler in the history of those times, is referred to Dr. Harris, as before quoted, for materials on which to form his judgment of the truth of this remark. In the mean time he may not be displeased with the following plain lines on the death of Sidney.

"Algernon Sidney fills this tomb,
An Atheist for disclaiming Rome;
A rebel bold for striving still
To keep the laws above the will:
Crimes damn'd by church and government,
Alas! where must his ghost be sent?"

Great industry was used by the court to bring the body of Nonconformists into this plot: it was given out that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Griffith, were acquainted with it.* Mr. Mead was summoned before the council, and gave such satisfactory answers to all questions, that the king himself ordered him to be discharged. The reverend Mr. Carstaires, a Scots divine, was put to the torture of the thummikins in Scotland, to extort a confession; both his thumbs being bruised between two irons till the marrow was almost forced out of the bones: this he bore for an hour and a half without making any confession. Next day they brought him to undergo the torture of the boot, but his arms being swelled with the late torture, and he already in a fever, made a declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose discourse of what might be fit to be done, to preserve their liberties and the Protestant religion, if there should be a crisis;† but he vindicated himself and his brethren in England from all assassinating designs, which, he said, they abhorred. Dr. South was desired to write the history of this plot; but Dr. Sprat, afterward bishop of Rochester, performed it, though at the Revolution he disowned it so far as to declare, that king James had altered several passages in it before it was published. Bishop Burnet adds, that when the congratulatory addresses for the discovery of this plot had gone all

Of heav'n it cannot but despair,
 If holy pope be turnkey there;
 And hell it ne'r must entertain,
 For there is all tyrannic reign.
 Where goes it then? Where 't ought to go,
 Where pope nor devil have to do."

Bennet's Memorial, p. 359.—Ed.

* Dr. Grey refers to "copies of informations," in the appendix to Sprat's account for a deposition signed by Mr. Carstaires, saying, "The deponent did communicate the design on foot to Dr. Owen, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Mead, at Stepney, who all concurred in promoting of it, and desired it might take effect."—Dr. Grey, by this quotation, means to implicate those gentlemen in the most atrocious part of this plot. But the question returns, what was the design on foot? what were the nature and extent of it?—Mr. Neal immediately informs us, in his report of the amount of Carstaire's confession, that it did not go to any assassination, but only to preserving their liberties and the Protestant religion. As to Mr. Mead, in particular, he went into Holland on this occasion: and after his return to England, he was summoned to appear before king Charles at the privy-council, where he fully vindicated his innocence, and was perfectly discharged. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, part 1. p. 258. Mr. Mead carried with him into Holland the son (the eleventh of thirteen children), whom he placed under an excellent master, who afterward rose to the first eminence as a scholar and physician. Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 333.—Ed.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 426—430.

round England, the grand juries made high presentments against all who were accounted whigs and Nonconformists. Great pains were taken to find out more witnesses; pardons and rewards were offered very freely to the guilty, but none came in, which made it evident, says his lordship, that nothing was so well laid, or brought so near execution, as the witnesses had deposed, otherwise the people would have crowded in for pardons. Bishop Kennet says,* that the dissenters bore all the odium, and were not only branded for express rebels and villains, in multitudes of congratulatory and tory addresses from all parts of the kingdom, but were severely arraigned by the king himself, in a declaration to all his loving subjects, read in all the churches on Sunday September 9, which was appointed as a day of thanksgiving, and solemnized, after an extraordinary manner, with mighty pomp and magnificence. There was hardly a parish in England that was not at a considerable expense to testify their joy and satisfaction: nay, the Papists celebrated in all their chapels in London an extraordinary service on that account; so that these had their places of public worship, though the Protestant dissenters were denied them.

The Quakers avowed their innocence of the plot in an address to the king at Windsor,† presented by G. Whitehead, Parker, and two more, wherein they appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that “their principles do not allow them to take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for the injuries they receive from others. That they continually pray for the king’s safety and preservation, and therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty, to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the jails are so filled, that they want air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns, and fields, are ransacked, and the goods, corn, and cattle, swept away, to the discouraging of trade and husbandry, and impoverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people; and this for no other cause but for the exercise of a tender conscience, in the worship of Almighty God, who is sovereign Lord and King in men’s consciences——.”

* Page 402.

† Sewel, p. 585.

But this address made no impression:* all things proceeding triumphantly on the side of the prerogative;† the court did what they pleased; the king assumed the government of the city of London into his own hands, and appointed a mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, without the election of the people; sermons were filled with the principles of absolute obedience and nonresistance, which were carried higher than ever their forefathers had thought of or practised. The university of Oxford passed a decree‡ in full convocation, July 21, 1683, against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and all human society.§ It consists of twenty-seven propositions, extracted from the writings of Buchanan, Baxter, Owen, Milton, J. Goodwin, Hobbs, Cartwright, Travers, and others, who had maintained that there was an original contract between king and people; and that when kings subvert the consti-

* The king was touched, for the moment, with the exhibition it gave of the unreasonable and unmerited sufferings of the Quakers, and said to one of his courtiers standing by, "What shall we do for this people? the prisons are full of them?" The party to whom this query was put, to divert his attention, drew him into conversation upon some other topic, so that little or no relaxation of the oppressive measures resulted from this address, nor during the remainder of the king's reign. Gough's *History of the Quakers*, vol. 3. p. 8, 9.—ED.

• Kennet, p. 410.

‡ This decree was drawn up by Dr. Jane, dean of Gloucester, and the king's professor of divinity, and subscribed by the whole convocation. It was presented to the king with great solemnity on the 24th of July following, and very graciously received. It was ordered, in perpetual memory of it, to be entered in the registry of the convocation, and to be stuck up in the different colleges and halls. Farther to counteract the spread and influence of the propositions against which it was levelled, all readers, tutors, catechists, and others, to whom the instruction and care of youth were committed, were commanded, to instruct and ground their scholars in "that most necessary doctrine, which in a manner is the badge and character of the church of England, of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well; teaching that this submission is to be clear, absolute, and without any exception of any state or order of men." *High-church Politics*, p. 89.

§ Another proof of the intolerant spirit which dictated the decrees of the university at this time, offers in its treatment of Dr. Whitby, precentor of the church of Sarum. This learned writer published in this year, 1683, without his name, his "Protestant Reconciler," humbly pleading for condescension to dissenting brethren, in things indifferent and unnecessary, for the sake of peace; and shewing how unreasonable it is to make such things the necessary conditions of communion. This book gave such high offence, that it was condemned by the university on the above-mentioned day, and burnt by the hands of the marshal in the schools' quadrangle. The author was also obliged by Dr. Seth Ward, to whom he was chaplain, to make a public retraction of it on the 9th of the ensuing October. And in the same year, to remove the clamour his piece had raised, he published a second part, "earnestly persuading the dissenting laity to join in full communion with the church of England, and answering all the objections of the Nonconformists against the lawfulness of the submission to the rites and constitutions of that church." *Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 103—105.—ED.

tution of their country, and become absolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be resisted: these and other propositions of a like nature, they declare to be impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the Christian religion. They forbid their students to read those writers, and ordered their books to be burnt. But how well they practised their own doctrines at the Revolution, will be seen in its proper place; and one of queen Anne's parliaments ordered the decree itself to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.*

Dr. Benjamin Calamy, rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed sermons entitled "A Scrupulous Conscience," invited the Nonconformists to examine what each party had to say for themselves with respect to the ceremonies imposed by the church, and enforced by the penal laws, calling upon them modestly to propose their doubts, and meekly to hearken to and receive instruction. In compliance with this invitation, Mr. Thomas Delaune, an Anabaptist schoolmaster, and a learned man,† printed a Plea for the Nonconformists, shewing the true state of their case, and justifying their separation. But before it was published, he was apprehended by a messenger from the press, and shut up close prisoner in Newgate, by warrant from the recorder Jenner, dated November 30, 1683. Mr. Delaune wrote to Dr. Calamy to endeavour his enlargement: "My confinement (says he) is for accepting your invitation; I look upon you obliged in honour to procure my sheets, yet

* Collyer, 902.

† Mr. Delaune was born at Brini in Ireland, about three miles from Riggsdale. His parents were Papists and very poor, and rented part of the estate of — Riggs, esq. This gentleman, observing the early and forward parts of the young Delaune, placed him in a friary at Kilcrash, seven miles from Cork, where he received his education; when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he removed to Kinsale, and met with Mr. Bampffield, who, discovering his genius and learning, made him clerk of his pilchard fishery there, and was the means of giving his mind a pious and virtuous turn. After some years, during which he enjoyed the high esteem and friendship of major Riggs and Mr. Bampffield, persecution and troubles induced him to leave Ireland, and come over into England, where he married the daughter of Mr. Edward Hutchinson, who had been pastor of a congregation at Ormond, but was also come to England on account of the troubles of the times. After this Mr. Delaune went to London, kept a grammar-school there, and fell into an intimacy and strict friendship with Mr. Benjamin Keach, and translated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his celebrated work, entitled, "A Key to open Scripture Metaphors." The narrative published with the subsequent editions of his "Plea for the Nonconformists," fully represents the series of sufferings under which he sunk, and the process of the iniquitous prosecution to which he, his wife and children, became a sacrifice. —ED.

unfinished, a public passport,* and to me my liberty—there is nothing in them but a fair examination of those things your sermon invited to, and I cannot find that Christ and his disciples ever forced scrupulous consciences to conformity, by such methods as sending them to Newgate; I beseech you therefore in the fear of God, as you will answer it to our great Lord and Master Jesus Christ, that you would endeavour to convince a stranger by something more like reason and divinity, than a prison.” The doctor at first said, he would do him all the kindness that became him.† But in answer to a second letter, he said, he looked upon himself as unconcerned, because he was not mentioned in that sheet he saw with the recorder. Mr. Delaune insisted that his honour was at stake for his deliverance, and prayed him at least to perform the office of a divine, in visiting him in prison, to argue him out of his doubts; but the doctor, like an ungenerous adversary, deserted him. Mr. Delaune therefore was to be convinced by an indictment at law; for that on November 30, he did by force of arms, &c. unlawfully, seditiously, and maliciously, write, print, and publish, a certain false, seditious, and scandalous libel, of and concerning our lord the king; and the Book of Common Prayer, entitled, “A Plea for the Nonconformists.” For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept prisoner till he paid it; to find security for his good behaviour for one year, and his books to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. The court told him, that in respect of

* It is to be observed, that notwithstanding all the attempts used to suppress Mr. Delaune's tract, to obstruct its reception, and to prevent its effect on the public mind, by severities against its author, and by committing the piece itself to the flames, there was a great demand for it, and before the year 1733, there had been seventeen impressions of it.—Ed.

† Mr. Neal's account of Dr. Calamy's conduct towards Mr. Delaune, is drawn from the injured sufferer's narrative; and it must be allowed, that it reflects on the doctor's character and memory. But though by not replying to his book, nor visiting him, he appeared to desert him; yet it appears that the behaviour which Mr. Delaune, in his afflicted situation, felt as a severe neglect, was tempered with more attention to his case and kindness than he seems to have known of. For Dr. Edmund Calamy says, “that his uncle took pains with Jefferies to get him released, but could not prevail, which was no small trouble to him.” Dr. Calamy was a man greatly respected; and, though a true son of the church, averse to persecution. He was a man of great humanity, courteous and affable in his deportment, and exemplary in his life. His sermons were reckoned to possess great merit. No books in his study appeared to have been as much used as Mr. Perkin's works, especially his “Cases of Conscience,” which were full of marks and scores. He died when a little turned of forty years of age. The treatment which his neighbour and particular friend alderman Cornish received, greatly affected him, and is thought to have hastened his end. Dr. Calamy's own Life, MS. and Biographia Britannica, vol. 3. second edit.—Ed.

his being a scholar, he should not be pilloried, though he deserved it. Mr. Delaune, not being able to pay his fine, lay in prison fifteen months, and suffered great hardships by extreme poverty, having no subsistence but on charity. He had a wife and two small children with him, who all died in the jail, through the length and closeness of the confinement, and other inconveniences they endured;* and at length Mr. Delaune himself sunk under his sufferings, and died in Newgate, a martyr to the challenge of this high-church champion.

Mr. Francis Bampfield suffered the like, or greater hardships; he had been educated in Wadham-college, Oxford, and was minister of Sherborne in Dorsetshire.† After the act of uniformity, he continued preaching as he had opportunity in private, till he was imprisoned for five days and nights, with twenty-five of his hearers in one room, with only one bed, where they spent their time in religious exer-

* The story of Mr. Delaune is very affecting, and cannot but, at this distance of time, move pity and resentment. "The fate of himself and family, perishing in Newgate for want of 70*l.* (observes the candid editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, 2d edit.) is not only a disgrace to the general spirit of the times, but casts peculiar dishonour on the Nonconformists of that period. Though there was probably something in his disposition which occasioned his having but few friends, a man of his knowledge, learning, and integrity, ought not to have been so fatally neglected. Perhaps the only apology which can be made for the dissenters of king Charles II.'s reign is, that whilst so many of their ministers were in a persecuted state, it was impossible for every case of distress to be duly regarded." To this may be added the great number of cases of distress, arising from the prosecution and sufferings of the lay-dissenters. Mr. Jeremy White told Mr. John Waldron of Exeter, that the computation of those who suffered for nonconformity, between the Restoration and the Revolution, amounted to seventy thousand families ruined, and eight thousand persons destroyed; and the computation was not finished, when this number was ascertained. The sources of beneficence were also diminished by the effect of the measures pursued on trade. For the customs paid in Bristol only arose, in Charles's persecution, not to 30,000*l.* per annum; but in king William's reign they advanced to near 100,000*l.* Waldron's copy of Neal, *penes me.*—ED.

† Mr. Bampfield was descended from an ancient and honourable family in Devonshire. The first living he held was more valuable than that of Sherborne, being about 100*l.* per annum; and having an annuity of 80*l.* per annum settled on him for life, he spent all the income of his place in acts of charity, by employing the poor that could work, relieving the necessities of those who were incapable of any labour, and distributing Bibles and practical books. Soon after his ejection he was imprisoned for worshipping God in his own family; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding he was prosecuted with severity, he had been zealous against the parliament's army and Oliver's usurpation, and always a strenuous advocate for the royal cause. When he resided in London he formed a church on the principles of the Sabbatarian Baptists at Pinners'-hall, of which principles he was a zealous assertor. He was a celebrated preacher, and a man of serious piety. He bore his long-imprisonment with great courage and patience, and gathered a church even in the place of confinement. His fellow-prisoners lamented him, as well as his acquaintance and friends. Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. 1. p. 468—472. Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. 1. p. 363—368. Vol. 2. p. 355—361.—ED.

cises; but after some time he was released.* Soon after he was apprehended again, and lay nine years in Dorchester jail, though he was a person of unshaken loyalty to the king, and against the parliament war; but this availed nothing to his being a Nonconformist. He afterward retired to London, where, being again apprehended, he was shut up in Newgate, and there died February 16, 1583—4. He was for the seventh day sabbath, but a person of unquestionable seriousness and piety.

With him might be mentioned Mr. Ralphson, a learned man, and a fellow-sufferer with Mr. Delaune in Newgate. On the 10th of December, a bill was found against him by the grand jury of London; on the 13th of the same month he pleaded Not guilty at the Old Bailey. On the 16th of January he was called to the sessions-house, but other trials proving tedious, his did not come on. The next day he was brought to the outer bar; and after an attendance of divers hours in a place not very agreeable, and in the sharpest winter that had been known, he contracted a violent cold, which issued in a fever, that carried him as well as Mr. Bampfield beyond the reach of tyrants, or the restraint of bail-docks and press-yards, to the mansions of everlasting rest.† Mr. Philips, partner with Mr. Bampfield, suffered eleven months' imprisonment in Ilchester jail, in a nasty stinking hole, to the great hazard of his life. Mr. French, of Town-Maulin, was confined six months in Maidstone common jail, in a hard winter, without fire or candle, or any private apartment.

Mr. Salkeld, the ejected minister of Worlington in Suffolk, was fined 100*l.* and committed to the common jail of St. Edmundsbury,‡ for saying, Popery was coming into the nation apace, and no care taken to prevent it. He lay in prison three years, and was not discharged till the year 1686.

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 260.

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 259—377.

‡ It aggravated the iniquity as well as severity of this sentence, that many hundreds of Mr. Salkeld's hearers could testify that what he said was not said as his own language, but that of the parliament. During his confinement he was helpful to his fellow-prisoners both as a minister and a cheerful Christian. His table was furnished by his friends at Bury, and his fine afterward remitted by king William. But his estate was much weakened, and his health almost ruined by his imprisonment. After his liberation he continued his ministry at Walsham in the Willows, and died December 26, 1699, aged seventy-seven. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 2. p. 442, 443. —ED.

Mr. Richard Stretton suffered six months' imprisonment this year, for refusing the Oxford oath, in company with ten ministers more, who were also his fellow-prisoners.* Most of the dissenting ministers were forced to shift their places of abode to avoid discovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather, from one village to another, to preach to their people. If at any time they ventured to visit their families in a dark night, they durst not stir abroad, but went away before morning. Some spent their time in woods and solitary places; others, being excommunicated, removed with their effects into other diocesses—great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined 10*l.* apiece; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other counties, by which they lost their business, and their families were reduced to want. I forbear to mention the rudeness offered to young women, some of whom were sent to Bridewell, to beat hemp among rogues and thieves: others, that were married and with child, received irreparable damages; even children were terrified with constables and halberdeers breaking open houses, of whom I myself, says Mr. Peirce, being very young, was one example; and the writer of this history could mention others.

In the midst of these violent proceedings, the divines of the church of England published the London Cases against the Nonconformists, as if the danger of religion arose from that quarter; they were twenty-three in number, and have since been abridged by Dr. Bennet. These champions of the church were very secure from being answered, after Mr. Delaune had so lately lost his life, for accepting such a challenge.† They must therefore have the field to themselves, for if their adversaries wrote, they were sure to be rewarded with fines, and a prison; but since the return of liberty, they have been answered separately by Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, Mr. James Peirce, and others.

This year [1683] died Dr. John Owen, one of the most learned of the Independent divines; he was educated in Queen's college, Oxford, but left the university in 1637, being dissatisfied with Laud's innovations.‡ He was a strict

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 676.

† Peirce, p. 259.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 58. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 152—158.

Calvinist, and published his *Display of Arminianism* in 1642, for which the committee of religion presented him to the living of Fordham in Essex. In 1643 he removed to Coggeshall in the same county, where he first declared himself an Independent, and gathered a church according to the discipline of that people. He often preached before the long-parliament, even about the time the king was beheaded, but always kept his sentiments in reserve upon such a subject. Soon after, lieutenant-general Cromwell took him into his service as a chaplain in his expedition to Ireland; and when the general marched to Scotland, he obtained an order of parliament for the doctor to attend him thither. Upon his return, he was preferred to the deanery of Christchurch, and next year to the vice-chancellorship of Oxford, where he presided with great reputation and prudence for five years. He always behaved like a gentleman and scholar, and maintained the dignity of his character. The writer of his life says, that though he was an Independent himself, he gave most of the vacant livings in his disposal among the Presbyterians, and obliged the episcopal party, by conniving at an assembly of about three hundred of them, almost over against his own doors. The Oxford historian,* after having treated his memory with the most opprobrious language, confesses, that he was well skilled in the tongues, in rab-

* Mr. Wood represents Dr. Owen as a perjured person, a time-server, a hypocrite, whose godliness was gain, and a blasphemer; and, as if this were not sufficient, he has also made him a fop. "All which (observes Mr. Granger, with equal judgment and candour) means no more than this; that when Dr. Owen entered himself a member of the university of Oxford, he was of the established church, and took the usual oaths; that he turned Independent, preached and acted as Independents did, took the oath called the engagement, and accepted of preferment from Cromwell; that he was a man of good person and behaviour, and liked to go well dressed."—"We must be extremely cautious (adds this author), how we form our judgments of characters at this period; the difference of a few modes or ceremonies in religious worship, has been the source of infinite prejudice and misrepresentation. The practice of some of the splenetic writers of this period, reminds me of the painter, well known by the appellation of Hellish Brueghell, who so accustomed himself to painting of witches,imps, and devils, that he sometimes made but little difference between his human and infernal figures." To Mr. Neal's delineation of Dr. Owen's character may be added, that he was hospitable in his house, generous in his favours, and charitable to the poor, especially to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his own family, maintained at his own charge, and educated in academical learning. When he was at Tunbridge, the duke of York, several times, sent for him, and conversed with him concerning the dissenters. On his return to London king Charles himself sent for him, and discoursed with him two hours; assuring him of his favour and respect, expressing himself a friend to liberty of conscience, and his sense of the wrong done to the dissenters. At the same time he gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 301, 302, note; and Palmer's *Newcom. Mem.* vol. 1. p. 154, 155.—Ed.

binical learning; and in the Jewish rites and customs, and that he was one of the most genteel and fairest writers, that appeared against the church of England. The doctor had a great reputation among foreign Protestants; and when he was ejected by the act of uniformity, was invited to a professorship in the United Provinces. He was once also determined to settle in New-England, but was stopped by express order from the council. He was pastor of a considerable congregation in London, and died with great calmness and composure of mind, on Bartholomew-day 1683. His works are very numerous, and still in esteem among the dissenters; though his style is a little intricate and perplexed.

[In this year died, aged seventy-two, Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, the friend of Tillotson. He was of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Salop, and was born at Whichcote-hall in the parish of Stoke, March 11, 1609. He was admitted in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, 1626, and graduated bachelor of arts 1629, master of arts 1633, and bachelor in divinity 1640. In the same year that he took his second degree, he was elected fellow of the college, and his tutor, Mr. Thomas Hill, leaving the university the year after, Mr. Whichcote took pupils, and became very considerable for his learning and worth, his prudence and temper, his wisdom and moderation, in those times of trial; nor was he less famous for the number, rank, and character, of his pupils, and the care he took of them. Wallis, Smith, Worthington, Cradock, &c. studied under him. In 1626, he set up an afternoon lecture in Trinity-church at Cambridge, which he served twenty years. In 1643, the master and fellows of his college presented him to the living of North-Cadbury, in Somersetshire. But he was soon called back to Cambridge, and admitted provost of King's college, March 19, 1644.* In 1649, he was created doctor in divinity. Here he employed his credit, weight, and influence, to advance and spread a free and generous way of thinking, and to promote a spirit of sober piety and rational religion. Many, whose talents and learning raised them to great eminence as divines, after the Restoration, were formed by him. To his

* See before, vol. 3. p. 102, text and note, where we have already made respectful mention of Dr. Whichcote.

predecessor in the provostship he was generous. His spirit was too noble, servilely to follow a party. At the Restoration he was removed from this post, on accepting of which he had resigned the living of Cadbury, and he was elected and licensed to the cure of St. Anne's Blackfriars, November 1662. This church was burnt down in the fire of 1665, and he retired for a while to Milton, a living given to him by his college. He was after this presented, by the crown, to the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jury, which was his last stage. Here he continued, in high and general esteem, preaching twice every week, till his death in 1683. One volume of his sermons, entitled "Select Discourses," was published, after his death, by the earl of Shaftesbury, author of the "Characteristics," in 1698. Three others by Dr. John Jeffery, archdeacon of Norwich, in 1701 and 1702, and a fourth by Dr. Samuel Clarke. A collection of his "Aphorisms," was printed by Dr. S. Salter, in 1753. See the second preface to which, p. 16—27.—ED.

This year the king, by the assistance of the tories and Roman Catholics, completed the ruin of the constitution, and assumed the whole government into his own hands. The whigs and Nonconformists were struck with terror, by the severe prosecutions of the heads of their party.* Mr. Hampden was fined 40,000*l.* sir Samuel Barnadiston 10,000*l.* for defaming the evidence in the Ryehouse plot. Mr. Speke 2000*l.* and Mr. Braddon 1000*l.* for reporting that the earl of Essex had been murdered in the Tower. Mr. John Duttoncolt 100,000*l.* for *scandalum magnatum* against the duke of York, who now ruled all at court. Oates was fined for the same crime 100,000*l.* and never released till after the Revolution. Thirty-two others were fined or pilloried for libelling the king or the duke of York. In short, the greatest part of the history of this year consists of prosecutions, penalties, and punishments, says Mr. Echard. At the same time the earl of Danby and the Popish lords were released out of the Tower on bail, the garrison of Tangier was brought over into England, and augmented to a standing army of four or five thousand resolute men, fit for any service the court should employ them in. And the corporations throughout England, hav-

* Rapin, p. 733, and note. Echard, p. 1043, 1044.

ing been prevailed with, by promises or threatenings, to surrender their charters,* after the example of London; the whole kingdom was divested of its privileges, and reduced to an absolute monarchy.† Whole peals of anathemas were rung out against those patriots, who stood in the way against this inundation of power. The Scriptures were wrested to prove the divine right of tyrants. The absolute government of the Jewish kings was preached up as a pattern for ours.‡ And Heaven itself was ranked on that side, by some who pretended to expound its will. Instead of dropping a tear over our expiring laws, liberties, and parliaments, fulsome panegyrics were made upon their murderers, and curses denounced on those who would have saved them from destruction.

In this melancholy situation of public affairs the prosecution of the Nonconformists was continued, and egged on with an infatuation hardly to be paralleled in any Protestant nation. Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, published a letter for spiriting up the magistrates against the dissenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the justices of peace of Bedford, bearing date January 14, 1684. Many were cited into the spiritual courts, excommunicated, and ruined. Two hundred warrants of distress were issued out

* Among others, the charter of the city of Chester was surrendered, and a new one joyfully accepted, by which a power was reserved to the crown to put out magistrates and put in at pleasure. This is mentioned to introduce an instance of the conduct of the dissenters of that day, which reflects honour on their integrity, and shews how far they were from the affectation of power; as it was also a proof of a disinterested and inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of their country. About August, 1688, one Mr. Trinder was sent to Chester to new-model the corporation according to the power above mentioned. He applied to Mr. Henry, in the king's name, and told him, that "his majesty thought the government of the city needed reformation, and if he would say who should be put out, it should be done." Mr. Henry said, "he begged his pardon, but it was none of his business, nor would he in the last intermeddle in a thing of that nature." Trinder, however, got instructions from others. The charter was cancelled, and another of the same import was made out and sent down, nominating to the government all the dissenters of note in the city, the seniors to be aldermen, and the juniors common-council-men. When the persons named in it were called together to have notice of it, and to have the time fixed for their being sworn, like true Englishmen, they refused it, and desired that the ancient charter might be re-established, though they knew that none of them would come into power by that, but many of those who were their bitter enemies would be restored. Accordingly the old charter was renewed in the same state wherein it was when the Tories surrendered it. Mr. Thompson's MS. collections, under the word Chester.—Ed.

† Welwood's Memeirs, p. 130.

‡ Mr. Waldron, of Exeter, has written here in his copy of Mr. Neal's work the following note: "The public orator of Cambridge, in a speech to the king at Newmarket, told him, that they hoped to see the king of England as absolute as the kings of Israel: as Thomas Quicks, Esq. told me, who stood behind him. J. W."

upon private persons and families, in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, or not resorting to church.* An order was made by the justices of Exeter, promising a reward of 40s. to any one who should apprehend a Nonconformist minister, which the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Lamplugh, commanded to be published in all the churches, by his clergy, on the following Sunday. The reverend Dr. Bates, Dr. Annesley, and many of their brethren in the ministry, had their goods seized and confiscated. Mr. — Mayot of Oxford, a moderate Conformist, having left Mr. Baxter 600*l.* to distribute among sixty poor ejected ministers; the lord-keeper North took it from him, as given to a superstitious use; but it lying unappropriated in the court of chancery till after the Revolution, it was restored by the commissioners of the great seal under king William. Soon after the justices sent warrants to apprehend Mr. Baxter, as being one in a list of a thousand names, who were to be bound to their good behaviour upon latent convictions, that is, without seeing their accusers, or being made acquainted with their charge.† Mr. Baxter refusing to open his doors, the officers forced into his house, and finding him locked up in his study, they resolved to starve him from thence, by setting six men at the door, to whom he was obliged next day to surrender. They then carried him to the sessions-house two or three times, and bound him in a bond of 400*l.* so that if his friends had not been sureties for him, contrary to his desire, he must have died in prison, as many excellent persons did about this time.

Jefferies, now lord-chief-justice of England, who was scandalously vicious, and drunk every day, besides a drunkenness of fury in his temper that looked like madness, was prepared for any dirty work the court should put him upon.‡ September 23, 1684, Mr. Thomas Rosewel, the dissenting minister at Rotherhithe, was imprisoned in the Gate-house Westminster, for high-treason; and a bill was found against him at the quarter-sessions, upon which he was tried November 8, at the King's-bench-bar, by a Surrey jury, before lord-chief-justice Jefferies, and his brethren, viz. Withins,

* Howe's Life, p. 80.

† Baxter, part 3. p. 198.

‡ Burnet, vol. 2. p. 444, 445.

Holloway, and Walcot. He was indicted for the following expressions in his sermon, September 14. That the king could not cure the king's evil, but that priests and prophets by their prayers could heal the griefs of the people—That we had had two wicked kings (meaning the present king and his father), whom we can resemble to no other person but to the most wicked Jeroboam; and that if they (meaning his hearers) would stand to their principles, he did not doubt but they should overcome their enemies (meaning the king), as in former times, with rams' horns, broken platters, and a stone in a sling. The witnesses were three infamous women, who swore to the words without the *inuendoes*; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and such of them as could be found afterward were convicted, and the chief of them pilloried before the Exchange. The trial lasted seven hours, and Mr. Rosewel behaved with all the decency and respect to the court that could be expected, and made a defence that was applauded by most of the hearers. He said it was impossible the witnesses should remember, and be able to pronounce so long a period, when they could not so much as tell the text, nor any thing else in the sermon, besides the words they had sworn: several who heard the sermon, and wrote it in short hand, declared they heard no such words. Mr. Rosewel offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The women could not prove, says Burnet, by any one circumstance, that they were at the meeting; or that any person saw them there on that day; the words they swore were so gross, that it was not to be imagined that any man in his wits would express himself so, before a mixed assembly; yet Jefferies urged the matter with his usual vehemence. He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treasonable, and that this ought to dispose the jury to believe any evidence upon that head, so the jury brought him in guilty;*

* As soon as Mr. Rosewel was convicted, sir John Talbot, who was present at the trial, went to the king, and urged on his majesty, that if such evidence as had appeared against Mr. Rosewel were admitted, no one of his subjects would be safe. Upon this, when Jefferies soon after came into the royal presence, with an air of exultation and triumph to congratulate his majesty on the conviction of a traitor, the king gave him a cold reception, which damped his ardour in the business. When the court met to hear Mr. Rosewel's counsel, this corrupt judge, who on the trial had intermingled with the examination of the witnesses virulent invectives against him, and with his usual vehemence had endeavoured to prejudice and inflame the jury, now assumed a tone of moderation, and strongly recommended to the king's counsel

upon which, says the bishop,* there was a shameful rejoicing; and it was now thought, all conventicles must be suppressed, when such evidence could be received against such a defence. But when the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treason by any statute. So Mr. Rosewel moved an arrest of judgment till council should be heard; and though it was doubtful, whether the motion was proper on this foundation after the verdict, yet the king was out of countenance at the accounts he heard of the witnesses, that he gave orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned.† The court lost a great deal of reputation by this trial; for besides that Rosewel made a strong defence, he proved that he had always been a loyal man even in Cromwell's days, that he prayed constantly for the king in his family, and that in his sermons he often insisted upon the obligations to loyalty.

Among other sufferers for nonconformity, we must not forget the reverend Mr. William Jenkyns, M. A. the ejected minister of Christ-church, who died this year in Newgate: he was educated in St. John's-college, Cambridge; and about the year 1641 was chosen minister of this place, and lecturer of Blackfriars, both which pulpits he filled with great acceptance till the destruction of monarchy, after which he was sequestered, for refusing to comply with the orders of parliament.‡ He was sent to the Tower for Love's plot, but upon his humble petition, and promise of submission to the powers in being, he was pardoned, and his sequestration

caution and deliberation, where the life of a man was depending. See the Trial.—ED.

N. B. This trial has been reprinted in the Protestant Dissenters' Magazine.

* Page 446.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 756. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 2. p. 512.

‡ Mr. Jenkyns was, by his mother, the grandson of Mr. John Rogers, the proto-martyr in the reign of queen Mary. The order of parliament, to which he refused obedience, was one that enjoined a public thanksgiving. The brethren, with whom he was keeping a fast, when he was apprehended in 1684, were Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Keeling, and Mr. Flavel, who made their escape, which Mr. Jenkyns might have done, had it not been for a piece of vanity in a lady, whose long train hindered his going down stairs; Mr. Jenkyns, in his great civility, having let her pass before him. At his funeral, which was attended by many eminent persons, and some scores of mourning coaches, his son gave rings with this motto, "William Jenkyns murdered in Newgate." Upon his death, a nobleman said to the king, "May it please your majesty, Jenkyns has got his liberty." On which he asked with eagerness, "Aye! who gave it him?" The nobleman replied, "A greater than your majesty, the King of kings;" with which the king seemed greatly struck, and remained silent. Granger, vol. 3. p. 317. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 98—100; and History of the Town of Taunton, p. 157.—ED.

taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in politics afterward. He was summoned before the council January 2, 1661, and reprimanded, because he forgot to pray for the king;* and being ejected with his brethren in 1662, he retired into the country; but upon the indulgence in 1671, he had a new meeting-house erected for him in Jewin-street, where he preached to a crowded audience. He was one of the merchants' lecturers at Pinners'-hall. And when the indulgence was revoked, he continued preaching as he could till this year; but September 2, 1684, being at a private fast with some of his brethren, the soldiers broke in, and carried Mr. Jenkyn before two aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and, upon his refusing the Oxford oath, committed him to Newgate: while he was there, he petitioned the king for a release, his physicians declaring, that his life was in danger from his close confinement; but no security would be accepted. So that he soon declined in his health, and died in Newgate in the seventy-third year of his age, January 19, 1684—5, having been a prisoner four months and one week. A little before his death he said, a man might be as effectually murdered in Newgate as at Tyburn. He was buried by his friends in Bunhill-fields with great honour, many eminent persons, and some scores of coaches, attending his funeral.

This was the usage the dissenters met with from the church of England at this time, which has hardly a parallel in the Christian world: remarkable are the words of the earl of Castlemain, a Roman Catholic, on this occasion: " 'Twas never known (says he) that Rome persecuted, as the bishops do, those who adhere to the same faith with themselves; and established an inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves; and, however the prelates complain of the bloody persecution of queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it; for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death, whereas, under their persecution, above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives, and liberties, being (as is most remarkable) men for the most part of the same spirit with those Protestants who suffered under the prelates in queen Mary's time."†

* Kennet's Chron. p. 601.

† Petree, p. 259.

This year died Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, M. A. the ejected minister of Newbury. He was bred up in Magdalen-hall, Oxford; from thence he went to New England, and was the first graduate of the college there. On his return to England, he succeeded Dr. Twisse at Newbury, where he had a mighty reputation as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a Christian. He was a great instrument of reducing the whole town to sobriety, and to family as well as public religion. Upon the Restoration, he was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary, and preached once before him. He was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and very desirous of an accommodation with the church-party. He was offered a canonry of Windsor, but refused it, and afterward suffered many ways for his nonconformity, though he was generally respected and beloved by all who were judges of real worth. He had a sound judgment, and was a fine preacher, having a commanding voice and aspect. His temper was cheerful, and his behaviour obliging; he was exemplary for his moderation, and of considerable learning. When the five-mile act took place, he removed from Newbury to a small distance, where he preached as he had opportunity.* He was liberal to the poor, and in all respects a good and great man. He died at Inglefield, November 1, 1684, in a good old age, after he had been a minister in those parts almost forty years.

The sufferings of the Presbyterians in Scotland run parallel with those of England, during the whole course of this reign, but the people were not quite so tame and submissive:† the same or greater acts of severity, than those which were made against the Nonconformists in England, were enacted in Scotland. Episcopacy was restored May 8, 1662, and the covenant declared to be an unlawful oath. All persons in office were to sign a declaration of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever. The English act against conventicles was copied, and passed almost in the same terms in Scotland. The bishops were some of the worst of men, and hated by the people as they deserved, for their deportment was unbecoming their function, says bishop Burnet;‡ some did not live within their diocesses,

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 956. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 229.

† Vol. 1. p. 206—211.

‡ Page 317.

and those who did, seemed to take no care of them: they shewed no zeal against vice; the most eminently vicious in the country were their peculiar confidants; nor had they any concern to keep their clergy to their duty, but were themselves guilty of levity, and great sensuality.

The people were generally of the Presbyterian persuasion, and stood firm by each other. In many places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forsook the churches; the whole country complained of the new episcopal clergy, as immoral, stupid, ignorant, and greedy of gain; and treated them with an aversion that sometimes proceeded to violence. Many were brought before the council, and ecclesiastical commission, for not coming to church; but the proofs were generally defective, for the people would not give evidence one against another. However, great numbers were cast into prison, and ill used; some were fined; and the younger sort whipped publicly about the streets; so that great numbers transported their families to Ulster in Ireland, where they were well received.

The government observed no measures with this people, they exacted exorbitant fines for their not coming to church, and quartered soldiers upon them till they were ruined. The truth is, says Burnet,* the whole face of the government looked more like the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal courts. At length, in the year 1666, sir James Turner being sent into the west to levy fines at discretion, the people rose up in arms, and published a manifesto, that they did not take arms against the king, but only that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the bishops, and that presbytery and the covenant might be set up, and their old ministers restored. Turner and all his soldiers were made prisoners, but marching out of their own country, they were dispersed by the king's forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken; many of whom were hanged before their own doors, and died with great firmness and joy.† Mr. Maccaill their minister underwent the torture, and died with great constancy; his last words were, "Farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell kindred and friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the

* Page 307. 309, 310.

† Burnet, vol. 1. p. 348.

world, and God the judge of all!" which he spoke in such a manner as struck all who heard him. The commander of the king's forces killed some in cold blood, and threatened to spit others and roast them alive.

When the indulgence was published in England the Scots had the benefit of it, but when it was taken away the persecution revived, with inexpressible severity, under the administration of duke Lauderdale. Conventicles abounded in all parts of the country; the Presbyterian ministers preached in their own houses, to numbers of people that stood without doors to hear them; and when they were dispersed by the magistrates, they retreated into the fields with their ministers to hear the word of God; and to prevent being disturbed, carried arms sufficient for their defence. Upon which a very severe act was passed against house conventicles and field conventicles, declaring them treasonable; and the landlords, in whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined, unless they discovered the persons present. But still this did not terrify the people, who met together in defiance of the law.* Writs were issued against many who were called Cameronians, who were outlawed, and therefore left their houses, and travelled about the country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that the king had forfeited the crown of that kingdom by renouncing the covenant; but the duke of Monmouth, being sent to disperse them, routed them at Bothwell-bridge, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred prisoners; two ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished to the plantations, who were all lost at sea.† Cameron their preacher fell in battle, but Hackston and Cargil, the two other preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the rest, who were offered their lives if they would say, God bless the king! Hackston had both his hands cut off, which he suffered with a constancy and rapture that were truly amazing. When both his hands were cut off, he asked whether they would cut off his feet too? And notwithstanding all his loss of blood, after he was hanged, and his heart taken out of his body, it was alive upon the hangman's knife.

At length, says bishop Burnet,‡ things came to that ex-

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 64. 155. 182. 266. 268, 269.

† P. 223, 224.

‡ P. 341.

tremity, that the people saw they must come to church or be undone; but they came in so awkward a manner, that it was visible they did not come to serve God, but to save their substance, for they were talking or sleeping during the whole service. This introduced a sort of atheism among the younger people. But the inquisition was so terrible, that numbers fled from their native country, and settled in the plantations. These methods of conversion were subversive of Christianity, and a reproach to a Protestant church and nation; but oppression and tyranny had overspread the English dominions; the hearts of all good men failed them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming on the land; the clouds were gathering thick over their heads, and there was no other defence against an inundation of Popery and slavery, but the thin security of the king's life.

To return to England: when the king had made way for a Popish successor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government, his majesty began to think himself neglected, all the court being made to the rising sun; upon which he was heard to say in some passion, that if he lived a month longer he would find a way to make himself easy for the remainder of his life.* This was interpreted as a design to change hands, by sending abroad the duke of York, and recalling the duke of Monmouth; which struck terror into the Popish party, and is thought to have hastened his death, for he was seized with a kind of apoplexy February 2, and died on the Friday following, February 6, 1684—5, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, not without violent suspicion of poison, either by snuff, or an infusion in broth, as bishop Burnet and others of undoubted credit have assured us, the body not being suffered to be thoroughly examined.†

King Charles II. was a gentleman of wit and good-nature,‡ till his temper was soured in the latter part of his life by his Popish counsellors. His court was a scene of luxury

* Welwood's Mem. p. 123. sixth ed.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 460.

‡ Charles the Second, "as a gentleman (says Dr. Warner), was liked by every body, but beloved by nobody; and as a prince, though he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, but that it introduced a much worse monarch on the throne than he was himself." There was ground, in this view, for the remark of Dr. Gregory Sharpe; "that if the English were in tears, when the king died in 1685, it was more to lament the succession, than the funeral." *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2. p. 929. Sharpe's *Introduction to Universal History*, p. 256. second ed.

and all kinds of lewdness, and his profuse expenses upon unlawful pleasures, reduced him to the necessity of becoming a pensioner of France. If he had any religion, it was that of a disguised Papist, or rather a Deist; but he was strangely entangled, during his whole life, with the obligations he had been brought under by the Roman Catholics. He aimed at being an absolute monarch, but would be at no farther trouble to accomplish it, than to give his corrupt ministry liberty to do what they pleased. The king had a great many vices, says Burnet,* but few virtues to correct them.† Religion was with him no more than an engine of state. He hated the Nonconformists, because they appeared against the prerogative, and received the fire of all the enemies of the constitution and of the Protestant religion with an unshaken firmness. His majesty's chief concern at last was for his brother's succession; and when he came to die, he spoke not a word of religion, nor shewed any remorse for his ill-spent life: he expressed no tenderness for his subjects, nor any concern for his queen, but only recommended his mistresses and their children to his brother's regard. So that no Englishman, or friend of his country, could weep at his death, from any other motive, than his keeping out a successor who was worse than himself.

* Vol. 2. p. 165.

To this it may be added, that Charles II. was characterized, as having never said a foolish thing, nor done a wise one. A late writer of dramatical history, Mr. Thomas Davis, is supposed to have contradicted this by an anecdote he has given. Mrs. Marshall, the first actress on the king's theatre, and a woman of virtue, having been tricked into a sham marriage by a nobleman, king Charles II. obliged him to settle an annual income on her. This indicated equity of mind as well as wisdom. Roscius Anglicanus, p. 19. 24, in the Literary Museum, 8vo. printed 1792.—Ed.

† Long since Mr. Neal's history was published, it has appeared that there was a design in the reign of Charles II. to place a bishop in Virginia; and that the letters patent for that purpose were actually made out, and are extant. The design failed, because the whole endowment was fixed on the customs. Secker's Letter to Mr. Horatio Walpole, p. 17.—Ed.

END OF VOL. IV.

